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**TO OUR READERS:**

**In compliance with the Israeli military authorities, and under the guise of the much criticized "Emergency Regulations" of 1945, Al-Fajr is required to submit all material prepared for publication in this weekly, and also in the Arabic Daily and Bi-Weekly Hebrew Edition, to the Israeli censorship authorities, who use this blanket authority excessively. The material appearing on pages labeled with letters has all been censored and expunged by the Israeli authorities. We found it necessary and relevant to publish it on these pages in the foreign edition.**

## Licensed House Destroyed by Jerusalem Municipality

Workers demolished part of an Arab-owned house in Silwan March 12 on orders of the Israeli-run Jerusalem municipality which charged it had been built without a license. Homeowner Shehadeh Abu Rumeileh claims that he began construction of his second storey only after receiving the municipality's approval.

A force of Israeli police protected the workers while they turned the controversial upper level of the Abu Rumeileh house into rubble. The work took all day. Two rooms, a balcony, a kitchen and a bathroom were destroyed.

After the destruction of their new apartment, the 23-member extended family were forced to return to their original three ground-floor rooms.

The demolished section was built in October 1983. Before starting construction, Abu Rumeileh petitioned the municipality for a license. The municipality, on instructions from the mayor who was trying to win Arab votes, responded immediately and sent a four-member committee to inspect the place. The committee verbally approved construction of a 40-square-metre second storey. Abu Rumeileh presented the necessary documents to the municipality and proceeded to build his home.

Over the past few months, the municipality's building inspector tried to stop construction on the pretext that Abu Rumeileh's application did not contain all the necessary documents. He managed to finish the house, however, after providing the needed papers.

After the elections were over, the Abu Rumeilehs received a notice from the building inspector to demolish their house. Litigation to stop the demolition was unsuccessful. (Translation: Al Fajr, March 12, 1984).

**Israeli police look on as municipal workers destroy the home of Shehadeh Abu Rumeileh in Silwan March 12 /AO photo**

## Israeli Guides Forced on Christian Pilgrims

The Christian Pilgrimage Commission in the Holy Land blasted the Israeli government March 13 for restrictions put on local religious tours. In a two-page memorandum, the commission charges that the ministry of tourism is violating a 1984 agreement exempting Christian pilgrims from regulations enacted in 1978 requiring all tour groups to be accompanied by a ministry-licensed guide. The commission says this violates the freedom of pilgrimage which Christians have enjoyed for 2000 years.

A commission member explained to *Al Fajr* that the ministry of tourism began applying the regulations in 1981. Local priests who usually accompany pilgrims on religious tours were harassed and intimidated by police because they did not have tourism ministry licenses. Some companies stopped renting buses to Christian tourists without an Israeli-licensed guide. The commission argued that requiring Christian tourists to hire licensed guides violates religious freedom. "Why do I have to hire a guide if a group is staying in Jerusalem and wants to pray in the Holy Sepulchre on Sunday?" the priest, who is also a member of the commission, wondered. He demanded that the ministry of tourism provide them with a letter stipulating that Christian tours are exempt from the regulations. They also demand that the exemption be noted on guides' licenses.

Christian officials here made efforts to reverse the decision through an *ad hoc* committee. After extensive discussions between the foreign ministry, the ministry of religious affairs, the ministry of tourism and the Christian Pilgrimage Commission, a 'gentleman's agreement' was reached excluding Christian pilgrims from the regulations. The agreement, however, was not enforced. Priests accompanying pilgrims on visits to Christian institutions continued to be intimidated. Most recently, a Franciscan priest was stopped and questioned by police at a Franciscan monastery in Kufr Nahum in the Galilee as he was taking a group to it.

"Never before has any government tried to control the freedom of pilgrimage to the Holy Land," the source in the Christian Pilgrimage Commission commented.

Since 1967 only one Arab has been granted an official guide license. Guides licensed by Jordan before 1967 were allowed to continue working.

LEBANESE RECONCILIATION TALKS

## Syria Has Problems Imposing Its Solutions

Special to Al Fajr

LAUSANNE, March 19 — The inter-Lebanese conference, euphemistically called "of national reconciliation," a term basically intended to trace an historically impossible hypothesis of a compromise between fascism and democratic aspirations in a national society, is not yet over, officially, at the moment of writing, but its major protagonists have already decreed its inevitable failure. Whether, at the actual closure of the conference, under heavy threatening pressure throughout the past week and in these hours by the Syrian regime, represented here by its 'number two,' Vice-President Abd al-Halim Khaddam, the participants will release what Progressive Socialist Party leader Walid Jumblatt called "a mere piece of paper," in which some vague and general principles would be formulated, or whether they will return home empty-handed, the prospect for Lebanon and the Lebanese is in doubt to no one. Clearly, the prospect is that of a third round of fighting, in which, in a definite and clear way, the Lebanese will see a winner and a loser emerge.

The Lausanne conference was obviously a total mistake, even from the point-of-view of the Syrian regime, who imposed its convocation. Damascus has everything to gain and little to lose from an ongoing support to the Lebanese patriotic forces representing the crushing majority of the people of Lebanon and who have also proved their military and political strength through the events of the past months, including the retreat of the US-led multinational forces from Beirut. Damascus, for reasons rooted on one hand in its fear of an 'infectious' process of democratisation in neighbouring Lebanon and on the other in regional and international ambitions, preferred to attempt to drain the 'Lebanese quagmire' on its own terms, in a public show. The scene is the monumental Beaurivage Palace Hotel — where in the 1920s the European bourgeoisie danced its time away, closing its eyes to impending disasters — now transformed for the occasion into a military fortress. The result has so far been what a qualified observer here has called "the highest achievement of the Theatre of the Absurd throughout its existence and the prospect of a war perhaps more cruel and destructive even than the preceding ones."

In making this choice, Damascus is repeating its error of 1976. There are various theories as to why Damascus moved to save Amin Gemayel: as a gesture to Washington; because it feels intrinsically more at ease with a helpless fascist dictator than with an independent, democratic and nationalist leadership across its border, or in homage to the economic asset which the Phalangist power represents for Saudi Arabia and the Gulf countries. In imposing a rupture of the Lebanese National Salvation Front and encouraging the hesi-

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# Lebanese Put Forth Demands at Lausanne Meeting

**The demands of the armed opposition:**

The resistance is represented in Lausanne by Progressive Socialist Party and Amal leaders Walid Jumblatt and Nabih Berri and outside the conference hall by delegates of the major political parties supporting the Lebanese resistance.

* The total and unconditional evacuation of all Israeli presence from all Lebanese territory, according to UN Security Council resolutions. Assurances regarding the security of its northern border could be given to Israel on the condition that these will not involve any military, political or economic advantages for the Zionist state.
* The conservation of a united, Arab Lebanon.
* Negotiations with Syria, following the withdrawal of all Israeli forces and in a separate context recognising the "special relations" between the two countries, toward the evacuation of Syrian forces stationed in Lebanon.
* A census of the Lebanese population (the last one was held, under French control, in 1932).
* The complete political deconfessionalisation of the Lebanese state, to be obtained through:

a) — The institution of a general proportional electoral system in a unique national constituency for the election of the parliament (now comprising confessional quotas);

b) — The institution, alongside the directly and universally elected chamber of deputies, of a second house of parliament — a senate — composed of equal respresentations of the 17 Lebanese communities, each having a right to veto senate resolutions;

c) — The direct election of the president of the republic by the people (instead of by the parliament);

d) — The election of the prime minister by the parliament instead of his nomination by the president;

e) — The transfer of major powers from the president to the prime minister and the government and the reduction of the presidential tenure from six to three years;

f) — The deconfessionalisation of the state apparatus, including the army, police, security services and the public sector administration: equal access for all citizens to jobs in these sectors on all levels;

g) — The abolition of the mention of the citizen's religion in all identity documents;

h) — The transformation of the army into "national and Arab armed forces" and the strict exclusion of any intervention by the army in internal conflicts;

i) — The institution of a high court of justice, in which all sectors of the population would be represented;

j) — Economic and social reforms which would secure equal opportunities for all citizens.

* The establishment of transitional mechanisms towards the realisation of the above program:

a) — A presidential council, each of whose members will assume in turn the presidency for a period of one year;

b) — A provisional "national unity" government headed by and composed of persons acceptable to the opposition and given adequate powers;

c) — The abolition of all the decrees issued by Amin Gemayel since his accession to power, including the nominations to key posts in the state administration;

d) — The immediate nomination of a commission which would proceed to reorganise the army on national bases.

**The demands of the Phalangist-dominated 'Lebanese Forces':**

The Lebanese Forces are represented in Lausanne by the Phalangist Party and 'Lebanese Front' parties leaders Pierre Gemayel and Camille Chamoun, and also by Amin Gemayel.

* An ongoing alliance with Israel and the evacuation of Syrian forces stationed in Lebanon.
* The de-Arabisation of Lebanon.
* The transformation of Lebanon into a federation of autonomous, confessionally homogeneous cantons, practically mini-states, with their own structures, including their own armed forces.
* A central "coordinating" power, headed by a Maronite president, flanked by a parliament equally divided between Christians and Muslims (instead of the present five to four ratio), to be elected, as at present, by the religious communities.
* The conservation of the present confessional balance of forces in the key posts of the administration and the armed forces on the central, federal level.

**The position of the Sunni bourgeoisie:**

This group is represented in Lausanne by Saeb Salam, of Beirut, and Rashid Karameh, Tripoli, and flanked by the insignificant Shi'ite bourgeoisie, represented by Adel Osseiran.

* The liberation of Lebanon from Israeli presence.
* A united, Arab Lebanon.
* Slight changes in the present political set-up of the Lebanese state:

a) — A parliament on a 50-50 Christian-Muslim basis to be elected by the confessional communities;

b) — A reduction of the presidential tenure and powers in favour of the Sunni prime minister;

c) — A greater equilibrium in the distribution of jobs in the state administration among the various communities.

* "No" to the political deconfessionalisation of the state and to reforms apt to destabilise the present system of privileges.

**Amin Gemayel's 'compromise' proposals:**

* A "total and definite" ceasefire.
* The consignment of Beirut airport and port to the control of the French force still present in the capital.
* The opening of the passageways between east and west Beirut.
* The institution of a "government of national unity."
* The formulation of general principles for "institutional reforms" to be discussed at a later stage. First among these: administrative autonomy to the various regions.
* A 50-50 Christian-Muslim parliament.
* The institution of an intercommunity senate, to be headed by a Greek Orthodox Christian.
* Limited economic "concessions" to the Muslim communities, along confessional lines.

# 10 Attacks Against Occupation Forces in Lebanon

One Israeli soldier was killed and five wounded in a series of attacks in southern Lebanon March 13-19. Reports in the Israeli press indicated there were at least 10 attacks against the Israeli army during the week.

The latest and costliest attack occurred Monday night March 19 when one soldier was killed and another wounded in a roadside explosion near the village of Sarafand. According to an Israeli military account of the incident, a 10 kilogram blast was triggered by remote control as an Israeli patrol passed it. Israeli troops sealed and combed the area afterwards. Israeli troops also conducted a house-to-house search and arrested a number of people.

Earlier in the day, nationalist commandos attacked an Israeli patrol in the Kamed al-Loz area in eastern Lebanon, injuring a soldier. The commandos reportedly used rocket-propelled grenades, knocking out one armoured vehicle. Israeli troops cut off traffic travelling to the area of the incident and made an unsuccessful search for the attackers.

In another attack March 16 two soldiers were wounded in a roadside explosion near the village of Habush, in the Nabatiya area. Israeli troops carried out a routine search in the vicinity of the attack. No arrests were reported.

An Israeli military spokesperson also reported a Katyusha attack on an Israeli position two kilometres south of Lake Karoun in the eastern sector. There were no reports of casualties.

A fifth soldier was slightly wounded in an explosion on the outskirts of Sidon March 18, an Israeli military spokesperson announced. Foreign correspondents in the area, however, quoted eyewitnesses as saying that they saw a helicopter evacuate casualties. Reports also reported a second attack near a mosque in Nabatiya the same day.

Israeli news organs reported a number of other attacks in which no casualties were mentioned. *The Jerusalem Post* said that five attacks were carried out in a single day on March 14. The paper said two of the explosions were large and occurred in the morning in the south. The first one, a 15 kilogram explosive charge, went off south of the Zahrani River just as a military convoy passed on the road. The second bomb exploded near the town of Ansariyeh, between Tyre and Sidon.

That afternoon, the Israeli military spokesperson recorded three attacks. The first one was an explosion of a 10 kilogram explosive device in eastern Sidon. The explosion occurred just as two military vehicles passed nearby.

Second, a Katyusha rocket was fired at an Israeli position near Nabatiya. The military spokesperson claimed there were no casualties. In a third incident, an RPG shell was fired at an Israeli position near Sidon.

# Dozens Die During Unsteady Ceasefire

The ceasefire announced March 12 lasted just over two days. As of Friday, it is full war again in Beirut and throughout central Lebanon. Determined to exercise pressures on the negotiators in Lausanne, the Phalangist forces renewed their heavy shellings of south Beirut, provoking an intense reaction from artillery positions of the resistance forces in the western sector of the capital and in the mountains. Thirteen civilians were killed and 35 wounded in south Beirut in the Phalangist shellings, which again did not spare the Palestinian camps of Sabra and Shatila. Seven inhabitants were killed and five wounded in Shatila camp alone. The prevalently Shi'ite neighbourhoods of Chiyah, Ghobeiri and Tayuni, already turned into vast cemeteries of rubble and debris in the Phalangist bombings of early February, in which over 500 civilians were killed and 250,000 rendered homeless, were again violently shelled through March 17 and 18.

*continued from page 1*

# Reconciliation Talks

tations of the conservative Sunni bourgeoisie in regard to political and social reforms demanded by the large masses of the disinherited Lebanese, Damascus has certainly damaged the Lebanese opposition. Unlike 1976, however, it may also have damaged its own interests and this damage may manifest itself in a shorter time than the Syrians would be ready to admit.

In the first place, it is highly unlikely today that an alliance with the Lebanese right will lead the present Lebanese ruling class or their militias to rescind, even temporarily, their links with Israel, which continues to occupy one-third of Lebanon's territory. Second, Syria's conservative allies in the now defunct Salvation Front are nothing but individuals, deprived of mass and popular support, enjoying at most limited support from a restricted and shortsighted social class. Perhaps most important of all: playing on what now is considered by Damascus as the permanently secure loyalty of the Lebanese patriotic forces may reveal itself as a hazardous risk. As Amal leader Nabih Berri observed during a particularly tense moment of the conference: "Our people rightly expect that the blood of thousands of martyrs, the suffering of hundreds of thousands, the achievements in the battlefields at an enormous human cost should not have been in vain, that they may at least recoup and realise their fundamental rights and not remain second-class citizens. If their leaders will not give them this, if their leaders sell out their rights for a couple of seats in power, then they will change their leaders for more radical ones." That could hardly serve the interests of the Syrian regime among others.

Up to what point would Syrian President Hafez al-Assad press his recent Lebanese allies in what, for the moment, is a semi-reversal of an alliance which has conferred on Syria many advantages in recent months? Will these pressures remain of a political nature or will they spill over to the military domain, with unpredictable results for both Lebanon and Syria as a whole? Can the Syrian regime, presently pained by a vehement behind-the-scenes struggle for future power in which the army is deeply involved, afford actions which would eventually exacerbate its internal conflicts?

Strangely and absurdly, while in Lebanon it is all-out war again — the 180th ceasefire, declared "total and definite" in Lausanne, collapsed after two days — it is ever more clear to the Lebanese that peace and an authentic national reconciliation will be achieved only when the deeper roots of their negation are extirpated and denied all power. These are the major questions emerging from the failure of Lausanne and marking the concern of the Lebanese national and popular forces on the eve of an inevitable third round.

**THIS WEEK'S CENSORSHIP**

Following is a breakdown of censorship cuts for issue 203, March 21, 1984:

| | |
|---|---|
| Number of original articles submitted to censors | 17 |
| Number of articles totally censored out | 6 |
| Number of articles partially censored but used | 1 |
| Number of articles passed | 10 |

Advocate Lea Tsemel addresses a press conference March 16 called by the Committee for the Defence of Abu Ali Shahin /AO photo

# Campaign Builds to Stop Shahin Deportation

*Unfortunately Al Fajr could not publish its own report on Abu Ali Shahin. The following is a reprint from the* Jerusalem Post *March 15, 1984, taken in large part from the press release by the Committee for the Defence of Abu Ali Shahin.*

Israel is planning to banish a Palestinian leader who has been kept *incommunicado* under military guard for the last 11 months.

The man, Abu Ali Shahin, is a friend of Yasir Arafat's and a moderate Palestinian nationalist who has encouraged contacts towards peace with Israelis. He is regarded as having considerable moral authority among Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

Shahin served a 15-year term in Israeli jails after he was arrested in Hebron for being the Fatah commander in the area. He refused to ask for the customary one-third remission of his sentence under parole and since his release has been subject to official constraints of varying severity in the Gaza Strip.

Military sources claim that Shahin is being banished because he never had the right to live in the Gaza Strip. The sources said he infiltrated from Jordan shortly after the six day war and was allowed, for a while, to stay in Gaza.

But Shahin's attorney, Lea Tsemel, said at a press conference in the American Colony March 14 that Shahin was in Rafah when the war broke out and was registered in Gaza in the post-war census that determined eligibility to live in the area. At one time after his release from jail the authorities wished to banish him, but Tsemel appealed to the High Court of Justice with an affadavit from a Rafah official who said he had seen the form with which Shahin registered in the census. The army then cancelled that banishment order.

The military source could not explain why Shahin had been allowed to stay in the Gaza Strip if indeed — as the authorities claim — he infiltrated from Jordan. The source said Shahin was allowed to stay "out of consideration" but could not say what had changed now.

Shahin is now confined to the village of Dahaniya, in the south of the Gaza Strip. Dahaniya is surrounded by barbed wire, with a military guard. Under the terms of his confinement he is not allowed to leave the village, must be at home from 5 pm to 8 am and is "not allowed to have contacts with other people" without permission from the military governor of Gaza.

Shahin was not even allowed to see his wife until Tsemel appealed to a military appeals court who gave her permission to visit him for one-and-a-half days a week.

Palestinians and Israelis who have formed a Committee for the Defence of Abu Ali Shahin said he had been recently offered a deal under which he would not be banished.

The terms of this deal, which Tsemel said had been offered by "very senior officials," were that Shahin was to publicly condemn the bomb that killed six people in a Jerusalem bus in mid-December. Shahin replied that he would be perfectly willing to condemn this attack if the Israeli authorities would in turn condemn Israeli attacks against Palestinian civilians in Lebanon.

In many ways Shahin is officially a non-person. He is being banished because his permit to stay, given together with the confinement order, has lapsed. But he is stateless, as are all Palestinian refugees in the Gaza Strip who were never given Egyptian citizenship (unlike refugees in the West Bank who got Jordanian citizenship after 1948).

The Israeli authorities have consistently refused to give Shahin an identity card.

Should he be banished, it is not clear which Arab country would accept him since he has issued very strong statements against the governments of Jordan, Egypt, Syria and Saudi Arabia.

After his release from jail in the summer of 1982, he was allowed 10 weeks of freedom and was then confined to Rafah where he had to report to a police station twice a day. He was later confined to Dahaniya.

Under the terms of a letter Tsemel received from the army's legal advisor in Gaza, Shahin must "leave the area" by April 5. It appears that the army wants to banish Shahin through not renewing the order. It is in this letter that Shahin is called a "threat to security and public order."

Michael Argaman, of Kibbutz Kerem Shalom near Dahaniya, saw Shahin for several minutes a few months ago. Argaman said March 14 that he got to Dahaniya through the fields of his kibbutz. But a few minutes after he entered the house with an American journalist, soldiers from the guard at Dahaniya turned up and took him to Gaza. Charges were proferred against Argaman and the other people who saw Shahin but they were later dropped.

Kibbutz Kerem Shalom has now joined the effort to stop Shahin's banishment. Other members of the committee are Ziad Abu Ziad, Uri Avnery, Argaman, Feisal Husseini and Lea Tsemel.

Members of the committee said they were especially worried about Shahin's health: he limps because of injuries to his back and has several severe ulcers.

# Worker Beaten by Israeli Boss

A Palestinian construction worker from the village of Nahalin, Bethlehem district, was hospitalised March 16 after he was beaten up by his boss while defending his cousin.

Hassan Abdallah Najajreh, 43, a worker for the Mash Construction Company in West Jerusalem, was kept in the Hussein Hospital, Beit Jala, where his condition was described as "satisfactory." He is suffering from bruises on the face and side.

Najajreh said one of his bosses, identified by his first name 'Meir,' was trying to force his cousin Yusef to work faster. "We were very tired since we had just cleaned nine tons of cement," Najajreh said. "None of us could work any faster."

Meir punched Yusef Najajreh in the face. Meir, a wrestler, knocked down Hassan Najajreh when he tried to help his cousin, he said. Najajreh said that Meir hit him with a spade after flooring him.

Hassan Najajreh got away from the site and summoned the police. He gave a statement at the Moscobiya police compound before being taken to hospital.

# Najah Students Resume Classes Amid Tension

Najah University students attended classes March 18 after the Najah student council rescinded March 17 its decision to suspend studies to avoid more friction. The atmosphere on campus was described as tense.

The university's public information director, Sa'eb Araqat, described the situation as "foggy and very tense." He said that students from the national bloc still insist that those responsible for creating the disturbances on campus February 19 be punished. "The Islamic bloc" Araqat said, "will not accept the results of the investigation unless other incidents are included in its terms of reference."

Islamic bloc supporters issued a statement March 18: "We declare in public that we will not accept the results of the investigation and we consider them illegal if investigations are confined only to incidents of February 19," it said. Islamic bloc members mentioned student meetings on March 17 as a violation of university regulations.

The Islamic bloc statement also attacked the head of Najah university's Teachers and Employees' Union because he condemned Islamic bloc members' practices on the campus.

The student council convened an open public meeting March 17 in which they decided to reopen the university and to give two weeks for the investigation committee to submit its report to the council of deans.

The council's short statement issued after the meeting said: "Based on the statement of the university council of deans, in which Najah University deans affirmed their stand to protect students' rights to freedom of expression, undertook to punish the perpetrators of violence and undertook procedures necessary to prevent a repetition of February's incidents, we rescind our decision to suspend attendance at classes."

A Najah University Council of Deans statement issued March 14 expressed concern to safeguard the continuation of academic life at the university based on freedom of expression and university regulations. They denounced "the use of violence and terror in all its types and sources."

One paragraph of the deans' statement said: "The university council of deans believe that every person who caused or participated in February's incidents must be punished."

In a letter to the deans, students called on them to hasten efforts for the appearance of results and to impose severe punishments on members of the Islamic bloc who instigated and participated in clashes at the university. Students also asked the university administration to remove loudspeakers from Islamic bloc members who "use them for incitment." They also asked for the administration to supervise and control the university's two mosques.

The student council letter also demanded that teacher Amir Rasras, who participated in February's incidents, not be permitted to enter campus. They also demanded that the Najah board of trustees and its council of deans issue statements denouncing what happened on campus.

Islamic bloc members attacked students participating in a celebration of the second anniversary of the foundation of the Palestine Communist Party February 19.

# Tawjihi **Students Demand Grade Increases**

Israeli policemen prevented 200 Ramallah students from meeting the local education department director March 19 to protest against results of the first semester *tawjihi* (matriculation) examinations. The West Bank students' protest began March 9 when poor results in the *tawjihi* were announced. Only 44 percent of students taking the arts exams passed in English, a mandatory subject.

Students claim their poor showing was because questions were difficult and unclear.

One day earlier 500 students met Ibrahim Suleiman, director of the education department in Ramallah, and voiced their complaints. Students asked Suleiman to add 10 marks to all results and demanded changes in the system of grading because of the difficult circumstances of education in the occupied territories. Suleiman told students that the education department would make a comparative study between results in Jordan and in the West Bank.

Izzat Sadeq, principal of the al-Urduniya Secondary School in al-Bireh, was summoned to the military governor March 19 because of alleged student protest and the irregularity of classes at the school. Sadeq told *Al Fajr* that classes have been irregular in all Ramallah district schools. Half the 68 students in the arts and science streams at al-Urduniya failed the main subjects — Arabic, English, Physics and Chemistry — in the spring *tawjihi*.

Ramallah students struck for one hour March 17. Fifteen thousand West Bank students sat for the first half of the *tawjihi* exam.

# Bethlehemite Murdered in West Jerusalem

The body of a Bethlehem man, Issa Mohammed Massalmeh, 45, was discovered March 14 in his car near the Jerusalem-Tel Aviv highway. He was killed and robbed of JD6000 while on his way to buy furniture in Tel Aviv for his Bethlehem store.

Close relatives say that Massalmeh received a call that morning from two Israelis telling him to come and pay for furniture he had ordered. Massalmeh left home but never returned.

Police had difficulty locating the family, thinking he lived in Dheisheh camp. The spokesperson has announced that Massalmeh died of blows from a sharp object.

Massalmeh's body was discovered in his Peugot car on a side street near Hadassah-Ain Karem Hospital. The body was transferred to Abu Kbir Hospital, Jaffa, for an autopsy and then returned to the family. No details of the police investigation have been released. No arrests have been made.

The late Ghassan Harb, a former Bir Zeit University faculty member, was eulogised at the new university campus on March 12./AO photo

# WB Teachers Petition Knesset for Decent Wage

**The General Committee of Government School Teachers in the West Bank sent a letter to all members of the Israeli Knesset March 20 outlining living and professional conditions for teachers in the occupied territories. The letter marks the latest effort in the committee's fight to stop the rapid erosion of teachers' salaries since the collapse of the Israeli economy last October.**

West Bank teachers' salaries have devalued by 30 percent in real terms over the past year, the committee said, and are on average one-half the amount required for a family of four to subsist on, according to official Israeli figures. The average wage of teachers in the West Bank is IS36,000, while Israeli teachers earn IS60,000, they stated.

The committee also listed attempts by teachers to form a union. These culminated with a recommendation of the Israeli High Court in 1982 that the military authorities meet with the teachers' committee to discuss outstanding issues. The responsible army officers have refused to go along with the court recommendation despite repeated requests, the committee notes.

The teachers' committee also outlined the occupation's depradations at the professional level. They say that over 100 teachers have been forcibly retired during the last three years — many of them activists in the 1980-'81 teachers' strike. They also charge irregular firing of teachers; the freezing of grades in violation of Jordanian regulations and arbitrary transfers to remote areas.

The committee say Israel's blocking of their attempts to unionise and achieve a decent wage violates the UN Human Rights Charter. They close their letter with a call for support and solidarity from "all forces of good will which place the value of the human being, his dignity and rights — as stated in international charters — above all considerations."

# Farmers Deny Produce Glut Sent to Israeli Markets

The head of the Israeli Producers Association, Ami Olial, claimed March 19 that 50,000 tons of tomatoes and thousands of tons of potatoes have been smuggled onto Israeli markets from the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Local farmers denied the allegation.

Olial claimed in a local paper that vast areas in the West Bank have not been scientifically planted according to the needs of the market, causing an overproduction of certain vegetables. Olial claimed that vegetables from the Gaza Strip and the West Bank have become the main source for Israeli consumers and will eventaully cause the collapse of Israeli agricultural production.

Wajed Dajani, a Jericho farmer, told *Al Fajr* that such "inciting statements" are intended to pave the way for more restrictions on Palestinian farmers.

West Bank agricultural experts labelled the claims "false and unsubstantial." Yusef Qandil, an engineer from the Jericho Marketing Association, told *Al Fajr* that 60 to 70 percent of tomatoes and eggplants grown in the Jordan valley are exported to Arab countries. "What remains is sold in West Bank and Gaza Strip markets," Qandil said.

The Jericho expert admitted that some Israeli merchants prefer to buy from West Bank farmers because their products are cheaper than in Israel. Ten thousand tons of tomatoes from the Jordan valley area were sold this year in Jordan. There are 9200 dunums of tomatoes planted in Jericho, Jiftlik, Fasayel, Ein Naba, Bardaleh, Marj Najeh and Zbeidat in the Jordan valley.

The Israeli authorities ban the import of agricultural products from the occupied territories to Israeli markets, including markets of East Jerusalem, except with a permit. Military orders 1019 and 1039 impose restrictions on the area of plantations. Other military orders compel Palestinian farmers to obtain a permit before planting their lands. Permits are given by military-run West Bank agricultural departments.

# Hamdallah's Town Arrest Renewed 9th Time

The Israeli-dismissed mayor of Anabta, Wahid Hamdallah, was given his ninth consecutive town arrest order March 19. The Tulkarm military governor summoned Hamdallah to his office and handed him the six-month restriction order signed by the northern district commander.

Hamdallah, who plans to lodge a formal complaint to the military objections committee March 27, told *Al Fajr*: "It is an unbearable act of oppression against a mayor who desperately is in need of travelling to and from his town. Needless to say it is a harsh and inhuman violation of the UN conventions."

Hamdallah was placed under town arrest for the first time in May 1980 when the authorities claimed he had 'incited' Anabta residents to protest against land confiscation in the Tulkarm area. Following a peaceful march in the town, an 8-year old boy, Najeh Abu Alia, was killed and two other people were wounded when Israeli soldiers opened fire.

Last January Mayor Hamdallah was detained for 25 days after the authorities accused him of involvement in the killing of a land broker called Mahmoud Abu Bakr, from Kufr Labad. Hamdallah denied the charge, calling his arrest political harassment, and was eventually released for lack of evidence.

Hamdallah was dismissed in April 1982 when he and other Palestinian mayors refused to cooperate with the 'civil administration.'

# Hussein Disqualifies US for Unprincipled Policy

**King Hussein of Jordan attacked US Middle East policy as "one-sided" in an interview with *The New York Times* March 15. He ruled out for the near future any direct talks with Israel as called for by the Reagan Plan of September 1982. The State Department spokesperson called the king's remarks "untimely."**

**King Hussein termed the situation in the Middle East "hopeless because it just appears more clearly than ever before that the US has foresaken its position as a superpower and as a moral defender of the world." Hussein also said that the US has lost its ability to stand by its commitment and "it has chosen to disqualify itself as the safe force in the area" that can ease the tension and bring about peace.** The US, the King of Jordan said, "is not free to move except within the limits of what *AIPAC* (American Israel Public Affairs Committee), the Zionists and the state of Israel determine for it." He went back to the 1956 Sinai invasion in his argument but pointed to recent events in the Reagan administration such as the September plan which Israel rejected thus destroying US credibility. Israel, he said, even intensified its settlement activities in response to Reagan's call for a freeze in future settlements.

Other events the king mentioned are the continued Israeli occupation of Lebanon and relocation of Palestinians in the occupied territories to the Jordan valley as a step towards finally pushing them to Jordan.

Hussein also talked about the denial by Israel of Palestinian human rights. The Arabs, the king said, see things in the following way: "Israel is on our land. It is there by virtue of American military and economic aid that translates into aid for settlements." The US, he said, "is succumbing to Israel's dictates." The Arabs, he said, don't think the US can be even-handed and can't stand by its commitments as a superpower. American candidates in an election year, he said, "must appeal for the favours of *AIPAC*, Zionism and Israel." The implication of this, the king said, is that everything Jordan has tried to do to make US policy balanced "has failed." The US choice is obviously Israel.

King Hussein said that the way things are he won't take any part in the American-sponsored talks about the Middle East. He said the region witnesses a formidable threat to oil and to world peace. He also said that Jordan and the Palestinians will continue to cooperate, adding, "it is ridiculous that Israel gives itself the right to question the right of Palestinians in the territories" to "meet with us here or even meet with the PLO."

He drew an analogy between the attention paid to Soviet Jews who want to immigrate to Israel and Palestinians in the occupied territories. The Soviets should be involved in the process, since the US can't be an honest broker with its "double-standard everywhere," Hussein said. He concluded by saying that the saddest thing to him is realising that "principles mean nothing to the US" but short-term issues in election year do.

It is also believed that the king was disappointed by the US president's refusal to support a move at the UN Security Council to call the settlements in the territories illegal and the refusal to appeal with Israel to allow Palestinians to join the soon-to-convene Palestine National Council meeting.

US spokesperson John Hughes refused to comment on either of these issues, telling journalists that the US always supports the freedom of people to move freely. Hughes also read a statement differing "with some aspects" of the interview. As usual, he also blamed the situation on "the forces of extremism and terrorism," the implication being that the king is trying to distance himself from the US because of "extremists and terrorists" and possibly because such threats are real. An official also said that it is possible, as others speculated, that it was an "emotional, off-the-cuff" interview and that it is not unique since there have been similar criticisms before it. Hughes rejected this reporter's question that part of the problem for the US is that Arab leaders are not taken seriously and their criticisms of the US are labeled either 'not unique' or 'emotional.'

Hughes said that the US "remains ready as before to offer our support" when parties call for it. The statement once again repeated that the US "had, does have and will always have a strong relationship with Israel."

The Dawn

# AL FAJR

AL FAJR – Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly

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# No Bargaining

The tunes of 'saving what can be saved' and 'grab what you can get' are well-known to our people. They are old tunes sung everywhere by a group of people in coordination with suspicious circles, not out of concern for the land and people but for a reason understood by all our people in the occupied territories.

What is drawing attention here is that every time those tunes start to fade away, those who wrote them return to sing them loudly again to wake up listeners and bring new enthusiasm to an old dance.

It is a difficult time in the occupied territories. We also realise the aggressiveness of the Israeli occupation and its attempts to swallow more Arab land and tighten the rope around the necks of the people and their national institutions, to create an Israeli reality that would eat away any Arab presence. Yet our people refuse any 'move for peace' that tries to change this situation by pressuring for accepting any peace without our full rights.

The Palestinian cause is a political, cultural and human issue. It is not an issue of bargaining over a few disputed kilometres. It must be treated in its entirety.

The Palestinian leadership has affirmed more than once that it is willing to agree to any solution that would guarantee the Palestinian rights. The peace it wants is the honourable peace and not a compromise of legitimate rights.

Those who play the 'saving what can be saved' tune should know that our people are not willing to compromise the fact that the PLO, as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, is the only one given the right to speak on behalf of the Palestinian people in the occupied lands and in the diaspora. It is the only one that can make a decision towards peace. It cannot allow any other side to interfere in its affairs or pressure it.

A peace move that eliminates the PLO is a conspiracy against the Palestinian people and their cause and, therefore, doomed to failure.

Any attempt to deprive the Palestinians of their full rights which have been recognised by the whole world, or attempts to change the Palestinian issue into an issue for bargaining over borders, are also doomed to failure and merely coincide with Israeli plans.

Any attempt to undermine national unity inside the occupied territories will be viewed as breaking the unity of the Palestinian people as a whole and our people will confront it.

AL FAJR – Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly

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# Mubarak Stands by Camp David

by Ghassan Bishara
Our Washington, DC Correspondent

In an interview on CBS news' 'Face the Nation' March 11, President Husni Mubarak of Egypt promised that Egypt will stand by its commitment to Israel and the Camp David accords. If the cancellation of these accords with Israel became a condition for re-entry of Egypt into the League of Arab States, Egypt would stay out of the Arab League, Mubarak hinted.

During his visit to Washington, DC in mid-February Mubarak made headlines when he called on the US, in the presence of President Reagan and King Hussein, to open a direct dialogue with the PLO. At the same time Mubarak warned that no one has the right to negotiate on behalf of the Palestinian people except their chosen representative, the PLO.

On Sunday, he told CBS's Leslie Stahl in an interview in Cairo that what he said in Washington is Egypt's policy. Mubarak once again told Stahl, "The PLO is the only representative of the Palestinians." Mubarak said the US should "start a dialogue with the PLO to press with them to agree on the (UN) resolution 242." Dialogue, the Egyptian president said, is "a matter of mutual interest" for both the Palestinians and the Israelis.

About Lebanon and his warning in Washington that US withdrawal from that country would bring about a disaster and the US would lose its prestige in the Middle East, Mubarak said that to a certain extent the US did lose prestige since the decision to redeploy to the Marine ships offshore. About King Hussein's reported fear of Syria if he enters talks with Israel, Mubarak said that a delegation made of Jordanians and the PLO should be formed to enter talks, which Egypt supports. Mubarak said Syria knows its power just as well as many others do, emphasising Syrian security concerns in Lebanon.

Asked if due to the abrogation of the May 17 Lebanon-Israel agreement Egypt could be made to abrogate its own treaty with Israel, Mubarak fell back on Egypt's place in history, adding "...whenever we sign and we give our approval, it is finished." Mubarak defended the treaty with Israel as constitutionally approved, and said, "If their way to join the Arab League is to cancel our commitments, I'll tell you frankly I am not eager to join."

Mubarak also said that Israel "is violating the Camp David accords every day... the annexation of the Golan Heights, the annexation of East Jerusalem are violations of Camp David," he said. He added that he won't send the Egyptian ambassador to Tel Aviv until Israel withdraws from Lebanon, or until "I have something in my hand," adding, "the Israelis are asking for everything, and they don't want to give anything."

About reports in the US that members of the US Congress would like to tie US aid to Egypt's willingness to return its ambassador to Tel Aviv, Mubarak said, "It would be a grave mistake for the Congress to link the aid with the return... it would mean you are trying to superimpose conditions on our relations with other countries." The US should help by influencing Israel to completely withdraw from Lebanon and to move on the Palestinian problem, which is the core of the whole problem. Mubarak, asked if he would be willing to go to Israel and talk to Premier Yizhak Shamir about these problems, said, "While they are still occupying Lebanon and not moving on the Palestinian problem, I am not ready to do such a thing at all."

Mubarak said that he may send an Egyptian ambassador to Moscow when it is convenient.

# Iraq Denies Chemical Weapons Charge

by Ghassan Bishara

Ismat Kittani, undersecretary of Iraq's ministry of foreign affairs, denied March 14 in Washington, DC that his country had used chemical agents in its war with Iran and announced his country's readiness to accept an impartial investigation into the allegations.

Kittani, who served as the chairperson of the UN General Assembly in 1981, was talking at the Washington-based American Enterprise Institute (AEI). Kittani blamed Ayatollah Ruhallah Khomeini for starting the three-and-a-half year old Gulf war, though he admitted Iraqi troops were first to cross the borders into Iran. Iran under Khomeini, he said, tried to export his revolution into Iraq first and then the rest of the Gulf states. Kittani, openly appealed to the US to try to end the war, which if continued, he said, will threaten US interests. The US can help by influencing its friends, such as Israel and Britain, to stop dealing with and selling arms to Iran. He also expressed his puzzlement about the US Congress trying to reinstate Iraq on a list of nations supporting terrorism, adding "Iraq is the victim of terrorism" from Iran.

About reports of the Iraqi use of chemical agents against Iranian troops, Kittani denied any such thing, welcoming an impartial investigation. He turned down suggestions that Western journalists do their own investigation of factories in Iraq believed to be producing chemical war material. He said Iran's accusations of Iraqi use of chemical weapons are an attempt to divert attention from its invasion of Iraq and to rationalise the Iranian army's inability to win the war.

Reports from Sweden and Austria confirm that patients from Iran they are treating were victims of Yellow Rain and Mustard Gas. The US government on March 7 condemned Iraqi use of such agents.

Iraqi authorities called US 'clear evidence' CIA-based and the condemnation 'hypocritical.'

Kittani agreed that US-Iraqi relations are good, despite the fact that the two countries have no embassies or ambassadors in each other's countries. He also described Iraqi-Egyptian relations as good. He argued that Egypt under President Mubarak is different from that under Sadat and that Egypt's isolation from the Arab arena has been a great loss to the Arab world. He said that Mubarak has refused to speak on behalf of the Palestinians, arguing that the PLO is their sole legitimate representative, and has not insulted Arab heads of state like Sadat. Egypt, he concluded, has none of its armed forces in Iraq, but there are Egyptian volunteers.

## US Condemnation

The US government confirmed March 5 that Iraq is using chemical weapons against Iran in the war now raging for three-and-a-half years. Iraqi actions were condemned.

Reports of Iraq using chemical weapons have been circulating here for months but no confirmation was available. Testing done both in Sweden and Austria of Iranian victims confirmed beyond any doubt that Iraq is using the internationally prohibited weapons. The

*continued on page 13*

# OPINION

AL FAJR invites our readers to contribute letters, articles and opinions. Contributions must be signed, but names may be withheld upon request.

## The Only Human Solution

The Israeli reaction to the abrogation of the agreement by Amin Gemayel was simple and crude: "The abrogation of the agreement frees us from obligations we took upon ourselves in the framework of the agreement. Throughout the months-long negotiations we held to the agreement; when the Lebanese insisted on every comma which they thought was infringing their sovereignty, we made concessions on a number of demands that touched mainly the security arrangements. From now on, these limitations exist no more." (*Yediot Aharanot*, March 9). This is how Yitzhak Shamir spoke before the editors of the Israeli press.

Neither was Shimon Peres' reaction late in coming. Immediately after the abrogration of the agreement was made known, he said in an interview with *Mabat* that he calls on the government to withdraw the Israeli army from Lebanon. When asked to explain he said that before withdrawing, Israel must secure itself the freedom to use Lebanese national airspace and water as well as a security cordon, which it will control through local militias which will be under its command.

At the same time the government declared that it is not going to discuss the expected withdrawal from Lebanon, and postponed the issue further until after... the Lausanne conference is over and until the Israeli army suggests detailed plans.

Meanwhile, according to *HaAretz* (March 11) Israel made it clear to the US that it "intends to attack by different ways terrorist posts and bases in Lebanon. The clarification followed news about the return of many Palestinian terrorists to Lebanon. Without making its position public, the American administration showed understanding of the Israeli position."

From various reactions it seems that a new consensus was formed between the Shamir government and the opposition as well as between Israel and the US. Moshe Arens defined the consensus as based on three principles: (a) the search for allies in Lebanon; (b) to deter terrorist acts; (c) to find a security cordon in Lebanon.

This new consensus is behind the government's decision not to discuss the issue. The truth is that there exists a general agreement not to withdraw to the international border and that the stay in Lebanon will go on for years. The silence of the government is accompanied by a noisy propaganda campaign in the media to make the international and local public opinion used to what TV reporter Yoram Ronen defined as "*de facto* annexation of south Lebanon."

As in all other occupations in the past, Israel is hiding behind the concept of 'suitable security arrangements.' Israel claims that if it withdraws, the Palestinian forces will return and again threaten the Galilee.

It is clear today that Israeli policy cannot secure peace for the Galilee and its inhabitants. The word 'terrorists' is like sand thrown into the eyes of the public. The Palestinian existence in Lebanon is a direct consequence of the 1948 war. As proven in Tel al-Za'atar, in Sabra and Shatila and in Ain al-Hilweh, the Palestinian population can trust no one but its own force.

The 'terrorist problem' cannot be solved by occupying and annexing south Lebanon in addition to the West Bank and Gaza Strip. The problem is not one of 'terrorists.' It is the Palestinian problem, a human and national problem, that can be solved by human means.

The only solution to this problem is the immediate withdrawal of Israel from Lebanon and the establishment of an independent Palestinian state under the leadership of the PLO, the only legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. In this way peace will be secured both for the Israelis and the Palestinians.

Israeli policy lengthens the way towards a solution and will demand more sacrifices, whereas the lessons of the past show that war and occupation lead nowhere but to more belligerence and bloodshed. ( Translation: Derech Hanitzotz, March 11, 1984).

## Palestinian Christians and Muslims: A Call to Concerted Action

*A group of local Roman Catholics recently published an appeal for dialogue with Palestinians Muslim. Here are excerpts from their statement.*

In the Arab world, Christians and Muslims have shared a long history together: the same language, culture and national feeling have united them at a level that transcends the differences of forms and beliefs by which they devote themselves to the service of one God, for the good of their brothers and sisters. A single cultural entity has been produced by this common march through history and it has contributed to an interaction between both sides in their formation over the passage of centuries.

This is the fact which constitutes the starting point of our march; this is the common entity which calls us continually, as Muslims and Christians, to ask one another whether we cannot exchange ideas in view of a more concerted action.

In its recent history the Palestinian people has become more conscious of its identity and has forged its unity by passing through many trials. All the Palestinians, both Muslims and Christians, have suffered together and are still suffering together; they have fought together, and they are still fighting together. Together they look toward the future with confidence and hope. How do we envision the construction of a common future? Palestine has always been a crossroads for the meeting of people, a crucible of cultures, the site of coexistence among the monotheistic religions. Above all else Palestine has been a land of welcome. However, the hospitable Palestinian people have been evicted onto the street, have lost their homes, their land, which were once open to every passing guest. This is why Palestine truly constitutes such a challenge and an appeal to us. A challenge, for how is it possible to live together in harmony, despite the differences? An appeal: for are we really capable of living a religious pluralism and preserving the human values proper to each community in their universal richness, in order to integrate that pluralism and those values into the construction of a new society?

Perhaps this challenge and appeal find in Jerusalem their clearest and most vital representation, for it is there that the Dome of the Rock and the Church of the Resurrection constitute two poles of attraction which continually remind us of the universal vocation of the Holy City and the transcendent value of the human person and the human community as a whole. As Christian and Muslim Palestinians, rooted in this reality, do we not have a common and irreplaceable message to deliver to the whole region in which we live and to the entire world?

As Palestinian Muslims and Christians, we are called to be courageous and sincere enough to respond to the demands of the present and especially to the imperatives of the future. It takes courage to be sincere, but this courage is liberating.

The future belongs to those who have the courage to break out of the unreflected mechanisms which regulate our attitudes and reactions — to those who have the courage to grow out of their small-mindedness and to accept others as different from themselves. It is at this level that we discover that men are enemies only of those that they do not really understand, that the others — in their very differences — complete us and enrich us.

### Faith Liberates and Strengthens

As Christian and Muslim Palestinians we are a single people. But at the same time we are also believers. Our faith is never absent from our commitment. Certainly, the origin of our differences and oppositions is also found in a certain conception of religion, or, to put it more exactly, in a mistaken idea of religion. More than once in history, it is religion that has been invoked abusively to justify harassments, persecutions and wars of all kinds. In the name of religion, we sometimes scorn others, we judge them as our inferiors, we refuse them their basic rights. But we are convinced that that is certainly not the true religion which God has willed and planned for us.

On the contrary, we know that a true and living faith is liberating: it gives us a more open perception of persons and realities, as well as a new confidence in the future. This is why faith makes us capable of opening the question of our relations with one another as Christians and Muslims, without complexes — for the truth liberates. Faith makes us capable of realism, without overlooking the difficulties. Faith gives us hope, for coexistence and cooperation are possible, since they are a response to the plan of God and to the expectations of men and women.

It is clear that such a positive and confident approach requires of all believers a veritable conversion, an inner purification, a patient education and a conscious effort to know the other and his faith better, in order to recognise him and to love him. We believe that both Islam and Christianity possess the resources required to inspire their believers to discover new attitudes and to open new ways of advancing, remaining at the same time faithful to one's own faith.

### Everything Becomes Possible

These few reflections cannot be and do not intend to be complete. We should like them to be an invitation to others to search with us for new ways of advancing together, to adopt a new perception of things, to create a new mentality. Then everything becomes possible. This invitation is addressed to all, in the hope that it will solicit reflections and exchanges with others.

In effect these reflections are inspired by a spirit of dialogue. And a true dialogue is never against anybody, nor does it exclude anyone. If these pages are concerned directly with the dialogue between Palestinian Muslims and Christians, we want to stress that this dialogue remains open to all, no matter what their religion or conviction may be. We are thinking especially of those among us who are using all their intelligence and their energies to transform society on the basis of purely secularist and materialist criticisms and viewpoints. We also have need of their presence and their cooperation. Together we find ourselves face to face with the Jews, both believers and non-believers, whose most authentic tradition calls for the respect of persons and the acceptance of those who are different.

We have had a uniquely Palestinian experience in suffering through injustice, expulsion, the loss of identity, the temptation to violence. But this has taught us, in a painful way, the inestimable value of brotherhood in pluralism, as it has taught us the cruelty of living in the absence of such brotherhood. As a result, is it not precisely our vocation to be more open to the needs of the world today, and to be ready to bring our own irreplaceable contribution to the construction of a human society that is more just and more fraternal?

At this point our reflection joins that of the unique and universal vocation of Jerusalem, a city of mutual presence to one another, a city of dialogue between man and God, and between man and man. Jerusalem has too often been the object of confrontations, of violence and fanaticism. Nevertheless, it remains a place where all men come to search for some ray of hope because of the profound significance it embodies. Fraternal harmony lived out in plurality is the special witness that our beloved Holy City is called upon to propose to the world. Our ability to advance together here in Jerusalem and in the Holy Land might well be the starting point of a common progress that will bring about a stirring of all mankind.

**Israeli military courts are handing down increasingly long prison sentences for what were recently seen as trivial offences. Maher Abukhater interviewed West Bank laywers for *Al Fajr* about the changes in sentencing policy and their views on the reasons behind it.**

# Sentences for Political Charges are Increasingly Severe

**Stone-throwing West Bank youths confront Israeli soldiers. If convicted, they face heavy sentences in prisons like Nablus' (below).**

**Lawyers who defend Palestinians charged with political offenses are complaining that sentences now handed down by Israeli military courts in the West Bank have never been more severe. Lawyers agree that while stone-throwing charges were punished by fines several years ago, the same charge today earns a prison term.**

**For example, a Nablus youth was sentenced February 20 to two years in prison and two years suspended sentence after he was convicted of being in the company of those who threw a Molotov. The military judge even considered his sentence as lenient, basing it on the defence argument that the youth just happened to be with his friends when they threw the firebomb,** lawyer Ali Ghuzlan said.

The boy accused of throwing the firebomb, Hatem A'aqel, was given a five-year prison term, half of which was suspended. Ghuzlan said such a charge would have received only several months in prison some years ago.

Israeli officials, led by Defence Minister Moshe Arens, have spoken out recently about taking harsh measures against rock-throwers in the occupied territories. In addition to the harsh prison terms, Arens has suggested measures including building high walls around refugee camps where rock-throwing is most prevalent. Main roads inside camps have also been sealed with cement walls as collective punishment on one hand, and as an attempt to control demonstrations on the other. The deportation of the families of rock-throwers, heavy fines and the closing of rooms in their homes were also considered.

Perhaps the most radical suggestion Arens made under pressure from West Bank settlers was the threat to destroy all homes in the refugee camps near main highways. He abandoned this idea only after camp residents filed suit in Israeli courts against its possible implementation.

The recent harshness of sentences prompted 17 Arab and Israeli lawyers who regularly defend clients in military courts to sign a petition February 21 complaining to the West Bank military commander and the military legal advisor about the severe sentences handed down by the military courts. The lawyers threatened to go on strike if nothing is done on this issue, according to Ghuzlan.

In a meeting last month of the Arab Lawyers Committee, advocate Adnan Abu Leil said that Palestinian lawyers felt impotent to defend clients before such courts because of "the interference of the military commander's issuing instructions to judges regarding sentences." This accusation of a violation in the rule of law was one of the items on the petition of complaints by the 17 lawyers. The lawyers noted that after the ascension of the hard-line Likud coalition to power in 1977, the military court sentences became noticeably harsher.

Ibrahim Abu Ata, a Jerusalem-based attorney, disagrees with his colleagues, however. He said sentencing has been extreme ever since Israel occupied the West Bank and Gaza and that changes in the Israeli government have not brought heavier sentences. He admitted, however, that judges base their decisions usually on the recommendations of the military prosecutor if his argument is convincing. The prosecutor in these cases always presents the opinion of the government. The military government, he explained, advises the prosecutor on what punishment to ask for in court. Abu Ata did not deny, however, that sentences handed out for a minor charge earlier in the occupation are now much harsher.

Ibrahim Nassar, another Jerusalem advocate, concurred. His theory is that "the Likud government follows a more authoritative approach in the West Bank than its predecessor, the Alignment, which considered the people to be under occupation. The Likud wants to subdue them once and for all."

He explained that the Alignment considered rock-throwing, Molotov attacks or demonstrations as natural reactions to the military occupation and treated them accordingly. The Likud, on the other hand, does not believe in the West Bank as occupied territory and, therefore, insists that the area should be treated harshly until its people stop opposing the rule of the military government. "The Likud," Nassar said, "wants to secure things for the settlers."

Abu Ata's explanation for the harsh sentencing is different. He agrees that the current harshness is intended to subdue the population. But he explained that there is a tendency now everywhere in the government to be more militant against local Palestinian resistance, regardless of its form. He said this attitude has been more prevalent since the Lebanon invasion. "Following the Lebanon war," Abu Ata said, "the Israeli government believed it was able to crush the military backbone of the PLO, and now it wants to break its political base." By passing out severe sentences, the government will discourage local opposition, it calculates, bringing an end to support for the PLO in the occupied lands.

For Nassar, the government's present concern is with guaranteeing complete protection for the settlers. He said that since rock-throwing has become a widespread and almost daily phenomenon in the West Bank, the government has been moved to maximise punishment of these offenses. Nassar explained the reason for this new policy in the following way: when settlers are attacked by a rock or Molotov or are stabbed, they consider the attack as part of their struggle over the land and are not deterred from continuing to live anywhere they wish. But the hardline settlers do not really concern the government. It is the average Israeli citizen who the government needs to entice into West Bank settlements by offers of subsidised housing and protection. When a rock is thrown at his car, damaging or injuring a passenger, or even when he hears of daily rock attacks, this could dissuade him from living in a settlement. This, Nassar said, scares the government most. And so they sentence minors to jail and give them suspended sentences as a deterrence.

Ali Ghuzlan said that "literally thousands" of cases have been heard in Israeli courts, most of which involve underaged children on charges of rock-throwing or demonstrating. In one recent week, he said, the Hebron military court alone heard 33 such cases. Two months ago 10 students from Hebron were given 10-18 month prison terms, a sentence normally handed down for charges involving political organisation. Even for a Molotov attack, the usual sentence was a few months in prison. But now, Ghuzlan said, years are given, even to minors.

**A Nablus youth was handed a two-year sentence for being in the company of those who threw a Molotov. The military judge considers the sentence lenient.**

Here are some recent examples of sentences:

* Two 18-year-old youths from Fawwar camp, near Hebron, Issam Said Abu Ajamieh and Ziad Tietie, were imprisoned on charges of hoisting the Palestinian flag and writing slogans denouncing the Reagan plan and the King Fahd plan on the walls of the refugee camp. Issam was sentenced to five months in jail and seven more months suspended. Ziad was sentenced to one year in jail and another year suspended.

* Nine Jalazon camp residents, ranging in age between 14 and 24 years, received a minimum of an 18-month prison term and a maximum of four years. The 14-year-old was given 70 days in jail and a three-month suspended sentence. The charges included rock-throwing, writing graffiti, distributing leaflets, throwing a Molotov and membership in an illegal local organisation.

* On February 12 the military court in Ramallah gave a youth a two-and-a-half-year prison term on charges of membership, preparing a firebomb, demonstration and incitement. The same court gave another youth on similar charges a three-year jail sentence.

* The Hebron military court passed sentences on three men charged with stabbing an Israeli settler in the city. One of the three charged was sentenced to 12 years on a charge of giving the other two the knife, although he himself did not take part in the stabbing. The other two were sentenced to 14 years. The stabbed settler was treated in hospital one day and then released.

* On January 19, six youths from Aida refugee camp, near Bethlehem, were sentenced to between five and nine years in prison by a Ramallah military court on charges of throwing Molotovs at Israeli vehicles. Lawyer Mohammed Na'amneh and Abed Assali, who represented the youths, told *Al Fajr* that their sentences mark "a new stage of severe sentences levied on Palestinians." Assali said that this was the first time that young men arrested for throwing Molotovs had been given such severe sentences.

# DIALOGUE AT THE AMERICAN COLONY

*A Palestinian-Israeli meeting sponsored by the Vienna-based Austrian Institute for Peace Research, led by the Tel Aviv-based International Centre for Peace in the Middle East and held at the American Colony Hotel in East Jerusalem March 16 and 17 failed to produce any concrete results in a joint statement or clear steps for the future. Twenty-six Israelis, eleven Palestinians and five Austrians attended.*

*The meetings, originally planned for three days, were modelled on the 1978* New Outlook *magazine symposium, also held at the American Colony, which resulted in the publication of a book,* When Enemies Dare to Talk. *Palestinian participants consider the American Colony meet a continuation of a symposium held in early February at Harvard University, USA. Speeches by Walid Khalidi, a resident scholar at Harvard's Centre for International Affairs, and Israeli MK Yossi Sarid, excerpted below, were given at the Harvard symposium. Khalidi's speech was reprinted in the* New York Times *and* Al Fajr *(Arabic). A fuller version of Sarid's speech was used as the basis for discussion at the American Colony dialogue. The Austrian participants, whose presentation is published below in full, represented the Austrian Institute for Peace Research.*

*No prior announcement of the meetings was made although conference organisers insisted it was an open get-together. Names of participants were not announced until after the meetings ended.*

*Willy Gafni, administrative director of the ICPME, told* Al Fajr *that the list referred to by* Al Mithaq *was an internal memorandum for prospective participants.*

*Hanna Siniora announced that the Palestinian group would be meeting regularly from now on to develop their position. Other suggestions for future action included a speakers bureau to set up mixed teams of Israelis and Palestinians to address audiences in Israel and the occupied territories. Another suggestion was the establishment of research teams to publish a study on the prospects for peace in the Middle East.*

*Ziad Abu Ziad and Faisal Husseini, members of the committee to defend the rights of Abu Ali Shahin, the exiled former political prisoner who is threatened with expulsion, made strong pleas for the Israeli participants to support his struggle to remain in the country. Sources on the committee told* Al Fajr *later that Israeli support would be forthcoming if there were changes in the legal team which is headed by leading civil rights lawyer Lea Tsemel.*

*Palestinian participants promoted the position that PLO acceptance of the Brezhnev and Fez Summit plans is a basis for a negotiated peace. Israelis rejected this and made a strong plea for a 'Sadat-style' initiative to create a 'breakthrough.'*

*Al Fajr Arabic daily published on its front page the group's speech delivered by Bir Zeit University lecturer Sari Nusseibeh at the meeting in which he says, "The PLO is the proper address for negotiations," (See below for statements given at the conference). According to sources at the conference, the Palestinians refused to publish any joint statement with the Israelis.*

*Those Palestinians who attended did so as individuals and not as representatives of any Palestinian institutions to which they happen to be affiliated, according to their joint statement read at the meeting.*

## Three Principles for a Political Solution

by MK Yossi Sarid

The struggle between Israelis and Palestinians cannot be resolved by military force. Neither side can win a clear victory, and neither will ever unilaterally dictate the conditions of a solution. National struggles such as this one must be resolved politically.

We, the moderates on both sides, must deliver our two nations from the vicious circle of just claims. It is our duty to tell our peoples: True, our claims are just, but the other side has such claims as well, and we must understand them.

The Israeli side argues, justly, that it is unwilling to negotiate with the Palestine Liberation Organisation because the PLO has never officially abandoned its declared intention of wiping Israel off the surface of the earth. The Palestinian side argues, justly, that unlike the Israelis, it has neither state nor army and has not realised its right to self-determination. Its main weapon is to refuse to recognise Israel, and it feels that it cannot afford to give this weapon up.

We moderates must help both sides escape from this sterile debate. How? By urging mutual and simultaneous recognition of both nations' right to self-determination. The Jewish people settled in Zion must recognise the Palestinian Arab people's right to self-determination — and the Palestinian Arab people must recognise the Jewish people's right to self-determination in its homeland.

Only mutual and simultaneous recognition can put a stop to the endless debate about whose rights are superior and who should recognise whom first. Pressing one side but not the other will bear no fruit — and might boomerang. The mutual recognition that we are all striving for must be explicit and authoritative, not evasive or conditional. That is the first principle in any solution.

The second principle is an answer to the enduring question, with whom should Israel negotiate about the Palestinian problem? The answer emanates simply and clearly from the first principle: Israel should talk peace with anyone who adopts the principle of mutual recognition. Whoever recognises Israel's right to exist as a sovereign, secure state should be considered a legitimate and acceptable negotiating partner.

The third principle relates to the final form in which the Palestinian Arab nation will realise its right to self-determination. Many people in Israel, in the Arab world and elsewhere believe that any realistic solution must take account of the strong ties between the West Bank and the Kingdom of Jordan. But in the end — when the time comes — the decision must be taken by the Palestinian Arab people. It must decide for itself how it will realise its right of self-determination.

These three principles will structure any peace, but mutual negotiations must be based on more specific proposals. Two such proposals are at hand: Ronald Reagan's initiative of September 1982 and the plan put forward later that month at the Arab summit meeting in Fez, Morocco. Both must be modified, and the differences between them must be ironed out. But together they can provide the basis for negotiations.

The problem with the Reagan plan, which calls for Palestinian self-government in association with Jordan, is that it does not relate directly to the Palestinian Arab people and its national problem. The problem with the Fez plan, with calls for an independent Palestinian state, is that it does not relate explicitly to Israel as a sovereign state that has to be recognised. Both failings must be corrected if talks are to have any reasonable chance of success.

To prepare the ground for negotiations, two additional and indispensable steps must be taken — one by Israel and one by the PLO. Israel must agree to stop its settlement in the occupied territories. As long as it is unwilling to do so, any talk of progress toward negotiations is empty talk, lip service and no more.

The issue now is not how negotiations will come out. The issue is how to begin them. The extremists in both camps are doing everything in their power to prevent us from finding the thread that will lead to recognition, reconciliation and a just solution. The moderates in both camps must do everything they can to enable each other to find that thread, grab hold of it and never let go.

## A Homeland and the Dignity of Sovereignty

by Walid Khalidi

It is singularly appropriate for Palestinians and Israelis to talk directly to one another. Unless these two peoples can themselves move toward conciliation, no third party can significantly contribute to a negotiated settlement of their conflict.

A group of Israelis, speaking in their private capacities, have suggested three principles and two other steps as the basis for conciliation. The first principle is "mutual and simultaneous recognition of both nations' right of self-determination." This makes more sense than the demand for prior, unilateral, unconditional recognition of Israel by the Palestine Liberation Organisation. It is the statesmanlike way to settle the question of who should first recognise the other.

The second principle is that Israel would talk peace "with anyone who adopts this first principle." The Israelis clearly prefer a Jordanian delegation that includes Palestinians for a negotiating partner. But their second principle does not preclude the PLO and, to that extent, it is a welcome and constructive concept.

The third principle concerns "the final form" in which the Palestinians would exercise their right of self-determination. Again, the Israelis would clearly prefer a single sovereignty that included Jordan and a Palestinian entity on the West Bank. But in leaving the "final decision" to the Palestinian people, they have taken a mature and creative approach.

The first of the two "additional prior steps" they advocate is a freezing of Israeli settlement. This is rightly seen as a necessary condition for any meaningful progress. The second step to be taken by the PLO is the cessation of "all acts of terror." Surely, if agreement were reached to launch the peace process, the obvious thing for all parties to do would be to suspend military operations — particularly abhorrent acts against innocent civilians, whether by the PLO or by Israel.

The Arab world is divided into two schools of thought on the Arab-Israeli conflict. The first school argues that there is no alternative to a negotiated settlement, largely because any gains on the Arab side of the balance of power would be negated by American actions favouring Israel. In this view, an Arab commitment to a negotiated solution would strengthen the Israeli peace movement and nudge the United States to take its courage in both hands as a peace broker. This school also feels that negotiations have a good chance of success.

The second school rejects this line of reasoning: it argues instead that the current balance of power is so crushingly favourable to Israel that the outcome of negotiations dictated by this balance is bound to be humiliating. In this view, the alliance between Israel and the United States constitutes a great threat to the Arab world. This side argues for holding out over the long haul, even if this in the meantime leads to the loss of the occupied territories. Geography, demography, oil wells and the spread of education and technological know-how all are seen to work in favour of the Arabs. In this view, time is on the Arabs' side.

The first school of thought is best reflected in the resolutions adopted at the Arab summit meeting at Fez, Morocco in September 1982. Most Arab heads of state, including President Hafez al-Assad of Syria and Yassir Arafat, endorsed the resolutions, which in effect accepted partition along the pre-1967 frontier and a guaranteed and permanent peace. The resolutions do not constitute — nor were they meant to — a blueprint for negotiations but only a 'framework' for them. As such, they mark a significant shift in Arab thinking on the subject.

For the Palestinians, a lasting settlement must accommodate both the 'territorial factor' and the 'dignity factor.' For the Palestinians must have a place under the sun in their historic homeland — a territorial partnership with and alongside Israel — as the final point of resolution of this conflict. And, like the Israelis, they must have the dignity of sovereignty. At the same time, any sovereign Palestinian state is bound to have the closest relations with Jordan.

There are two Palestinian constituencies — one in the occupied territories and one in the diaspora — and any settlement must be acceptable to both. Likewise, no settlement that bypassed Syria would be feasible, and negotiations must not become part of a strategy of confrontation with Damascus. Nor is a settlement feasible under an exclusively American umbrella. Moscow's participation is as necessary as Washington's.

The pragmatists in the Middle East — in the Arab world, among Palestinians and in the Israeli peace movement — are equally in need of each other.

## "Our Address is the PLO"

Statement of West Bank Palestinian Participants

Ladies and Gentlemen:

We, the Palestinians who have agreed to come here today, join you at this meeting not as equal partners but as prisoners in our homeland. We presume to speak only on behalf of ourselves. We do not even claim to represent the institutions with which some of us may be connected, let alone the Palestinian people with whom we jointly suffer under occupation.

We are not political leaders; we are simply Palestinian human beings who seek every opportunity, every forum, to express our views and protest our conditions.

Like the rest of our Palestinian people, both inside the occupied territories and outside, we regard the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of our Palestinian people. We regard the PLO as the embodiment of our national movement and we entrust it, exclusively, with directing our people's march towards the realisation of our inviolate national rights, including, foremost, our right of self-determination and of establishing our independent state on our national soil.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

The road to a just and lasting settlement in the area has been blocked by the continued insistence of your consecutive governments on ignoring the existence of the Palestinian people, on ignoring and rejecting its unique national identity, its right to self-determination and its just claims to a dignified existence in its homeland.

The road to a just and lasting settlement in the area has been blocked by the inevitably unsuccessful and blatantly unrealistic but continued and persistent Israeli attempts at seeking an alternative leadership or spokesman for the Palestinian people, either in the form of an Arab country or within the occupied territories.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

If you wish to talk peace with us, you know what our address is. Our address is the PLO.

Peace cannot certainly be achieved through the oppressive measures employed by the occupation authorities against the Palestinian national movement in the occupied territories; nor can it have been achieved over the years through the attempt to suppress, even to liquidate, our Palestinian brethren in Lebanon.

Peace cannot be achieved by trying to bring the Palestinian nation down to its knees or by trying to break its will. The painful logic of history has proved, and you, our Semitic relatives, are a testament to this, that you cannot just wipe out an entire people. The natural yearning for national freedom and independence is not something which can be wished away or suppressed indefinitely. The national will cannot be broken if it is tempered by reason and motivated by justice.

It is the role, even the duty, of those who honour peace with justice, wherever they are, to seek an end to national oppression and liquidation. It is their duty to seek to create the right environment for a constructive dialogue that is based on the principle of mutual self-respect for the right of nations to live in freedom and in dignity, each on its national soil.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

It is our conviction that the Palestinian national movement under the leadership of the PLO has confirmed its readiness to take significant steps forward in the search for a just settlement of the conflict. It has taken such steps on the executive level through Yasir Arafat's repeated acceptance of all UN resolutions pertaining to the conflict and on the legislative level through the PNC's acceptance in its 16th session last year of the Fez peace plan and the Brezhnev document.

Peace begins at home. Can the Zionist movement meet the challenge posed to it by the Palestinian national movement, in ways other than those employed by Israel in the Lebanon war? Now that the Lebanon dust is beginning to settle, this question must be answered as forcefully in the affirmative by the peace forces in Israel as it was answered forcefully and relentlessly by the army generals.

But while peace, if it is to reign at all, must begin at home, it also must, if it is to survive, be sanctified by an international consensus. It is futile, in this respect, to rely on the United States and its might, as numerous examples have shown in Lebanon, Iran and South-east Asia. If Israel wishes a real and successful peace, it must address itself to the real political actors in the area, beginning with the PLO.

Let us turn our vision towards Geneva. Let us contemplate the presence of an independent PLO negotiating team.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

If we do not wish only to pay lip service to peace, let us get down to the real business of formally addressing the representative of our people, the PLO.

It is only under such circumstances, we put it to you, that our differences can be settled.

Thank you.

### CONFERENCE PARTICIPANTS

PALESTINIANS

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Said Kana'an (Nablus)
Hisham Awartani (Nablus)
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MK Yossi Sarid (Labour Party)
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Mrs. Mader Gertrude
Prof. Charlotte Teuber
Barbara Taufer (Austrian Embassy)
Ernst Gehmacher and family

* List obtained from conference organisers

## Dialogue: Looking for the Consensus

by Dr. Mader Gertrude

At the close of this most interesting day, I want to thank you for your invitation and also for the perseverence with which you have organised this meeting.

On behalf of the Austrian Institute for Peace Research, whose president and executive director I am, I want to emphasise the great satisfaction that we were able to sponsor this meeting as it is the task of our institution to help with peace dialogues beyond the realms where only the delegates of great powers can tread.

Castle Schlaining is not only an institute for academic and/or theoretical research. It was envisaged and has come to be a place of meetings between concerned people who dare to think and speak independent of the official line of their respective governments, and where even members of government can think and speak as concerned human beings to all issues of concern. And as we saw again, there is no greater concern in this present world than peace. And among the various continuing dangers to peace, there is none of greater magnitude and explosive potential than the tragic crisis of this land here.

I know very well that no project and no one-day meeting can bring forth a solution but I come again to see that a sincere and frank dialogue of people who have suffered and still managed to keep hope alive, of people who know that they are a thinking, fighting and listening minority, is the only way to get to the conscience and consciousness of the majority and eventually to those who wield the power of decisions!

We at Schlaining, a former place of siege and war, situated extremely near to the dividing line of present Europe, have created a castle of peace, a refuge for those who want to think and act across dividing lines and enemy-images. Thus our material sponsorship of today's meeting might take second place to its contribution to genuine peace.

Today I had the great pleasure to bring Schlaining to this spot at another and even more painful dividing line.

I sincerely hope that this meeting was the first step in a process of which another step may be further gatherings at our home base.

Thank you.

'Terror Against Terror' suffered set-backs recently with the arrest of two of its cells. This has led to a spate of articles about the organisation. *Al Hamishmar* journalist S. Me'iri- Lichter scooped the opposition with this interview with two members of the organisation.

# TNT is not One Group

**The confession of two youths of membership in "one of several underground groups," called TNT by the media, points to the existence of an extensive underground. The two youths, who introduce themselves as "underground members," met this writer about two weeks ago and the conversation was recorded. Following recent events, we decided to publish the full text of the conversation, in which A and B participated. This writer thinks that one of the participants in the conversation is among those detained in this affair. This has not been confirmed by the police.**

From previous meetings with the two, information was obtained about the existence of three separate underground groups that were in the past two groups. Recently, because of disagreements about the nature of their activity, they split into three groups and worked independently. One of the three groups had members with criminal backgrounds who are hired attackers. The two other groups were ideologically motivated and supported mainly by organisations abroad.

Some of the cell members are from the US and received 'military' training in that country. Others are graduates of elite units of the Israeli army. From the interview it is clear that (TNT) is an umbrella-name given by the media to various groups active in the (terror) field. This was the main part of the conversation:

**Why did you consent to meet me?**

**(A)** We agreed to meet because we feel we have lost control of what is being done.

**Why did you lose control?**

**(A)** Some of my friends and I believe that there is a consensus in the media that there is an underground of one group called TNT and, as I understand, it relates to us. But to the best of my knowledge — and I know a lot about these groups — there is no one group like that.

**How many are there in this group? Are you the group to whom the assaults are related?**

**(A)** I'll not answer you on this question.

**What exactly did you mean when you said that you have lost control?**

**(A)** I meant that various sorts of people have started to act independently without coordination, a fact that might lead to all the links being discovered. Certain acts done by groups are not according to our line.

**Were there attacks that you did not do?**

**(A)** Yes, there were such deeds.

**Are you prepared to tell which ones?**

**(A)** I would prefer not to speak about this.

**Have you been trained in the use of weapons and explosives?**

**(B)** Some of the men served in the army and some came from the US where they were in the Jewish Defence League. There, as is well-known, they are given paramilitary training. The training is passed on from one to another. In addition we received military training here in the country.

**Do you get money from the Kach movement? Do you do this for money?**

**(A)** If we do anything, it is because of the ideology involved in it.

TNT arms cache discovered in March in Lifta, outside West Jerusalem. Israeli terrorists operate as part of an extensive underground aimed at the forced emigration of Palestinians. "A Jewish criminal should be in prison. But to kill an Arab is permissable."

**But you get money for this?**

**(A)** Yes, but the money is not for the campaign as waged but in order to finance us.

**Who committed the assaults on the mayors? I was told that it is related to your group. Is it true?**

**(A)** I would prefer not to speak about this.

**Is there a close tie between your group and the Kach movement? Who tells you when and how to act? And for what?**

**(A)** No comment.

**When we were talking before, that is, before recording, you mentioned a certain number of men. Why aren't you prepared to repeat this number? Are you too few, too many?**

**(A)** I don't know what is too few or too many. When we speak about many, it is relative, and I don't wish to enter into this.

**A person called Yoel Lerner is known to have left the Kach movement because he was more extreme than they. He established 'an army of his own.' He was then accused of plotting to blow up the Temple Mount (*al-Aqsa*).**

**(B)** Lerner established a group of his own because he doesn't believe in Israeli politics. He doesn't believe in anything called 'running for election.' He claims there is nothing to speak to Knesset members about and nothing can be expected from this government. He established a movement of his own and is leading it.

**What is the movement's name?**

**(B)** It has no name. He can call it by any name he wants. He organised men of his own who are particularly extreme.

**Do you belong to Yoel Lerner's (group)?**

**(B)** We don't speak about this. This was before they released him.

**Today Lerner is in prison. Who heads his men?**

**(B)** He has heirs.

**You said Lerner is going to be released. Why will they release him?**

**(B)** In my opinion, he has agreed to testify about murders of Gang No. 1 in Jerusalem. Maybe he agreed to bug a man called Gabi, or something like that, in the prison as (Gabi w-s) confessing?

**Why would he agree (to do this)?**

**(A)** For two reasons: first, he received privileged treatment during his imprisonment; secondly, he is against crime as such. A Jewish criminal should be in prison. But to kill an Arab is permissable.

**Is this your opinion too?**

**(A)** Yes.

When the microphone was on, the answers were more evasive. They refused to identify themselves with one group by name or with any particular attack and we have no clear-cut evidence of their membership. However, the fact they knew where the weapons came from and even added (previously) unknown details fits in with the line of police and security services investigations, according to what was published. This testifies to a high-level personal involvement.

What is the credo of these groups?

* They claim that there is no other way to make it clear to the Arabs living in Israel, to every Arab — no matter to which organisation they belong, that they are part of the Arab people and, therefore, our enemy.

* "If we as Jews were in the situation of Arabs, they would not relate to us as members of different groups. Whether we belong to Peace Now or Tehiya our fate, for them, would be one. We must see them in the same way."

* They claim that so far the government has not encouraged the exodus of Arabs from *Eretz Israel* and they consider this their duty and their contribution to the state. Every assault on Arabs which is repeated, directly and indirectly helps their emigration, just as anti-Semitic persecution in the diaspora encouraged Jews to immigrate to Zion.

* One of the ways to annihilate the state of Israel in the long term is to assimilate the Jews until they disappear (sic). Therefore, the duty of the various undergrounds is 'to encourage' (Arabs) to emigrate from *Eretz Israel* to the neighbouring countries. (Translation: Al Hamishmar, March 7, 1984).

# Memoirs of Everyday Sorrow

by Mahmoud Darwish

I hire a taxi-cab to go home...

I chat with the driver in perfect Hebrew, confident that my looks do not disclose my identity.

"Where to, sir?" the driver asks me.

"To Mutanabbi Street," I reply. I light a cigarette and offer one to the driver in recognition of his politeness. He takes it, warms up to me, and says:

"Tell me, how long will this disgusting situation last? We are sick of it." For a moment, I assume that he has become sick of war, high taxes and mounting milk prices.

"You are right," I tell him. "We are sick of it." Then he continues:

"How long will our government keep these dirty Arabic street names? We should wipe them out and obliterate their language."

"Who do you mean?" I ask him.

"The Arabs of course!" he replies.

"But why?" I inquire.

"Because they are filthy," he tells me. I recognise his Moroccan accent, and I ask him:

"Am I so filthy? Are you cleaner than I am?"

"What do you mean?" he asks, surprised. I appeal to his intelligence; he realises who I am, but does not believe it.

"Please, stop joking," he tells me. When I show him my identity card, he loses his scruples and retorts:

"I do not mean the Christian Arabs – just the Muslim." I assure him that I am a Muslim, and he qualifies his statement.

"I do not mean all the Muslims – just the Muslim villagers." I assure him that I come from a backward village that Israel demolished – simply razed out of existence. He says quickly:

"The state deserves all respect."

I stop the car and decide to walk home. I am overtaken by the desire to read the names of the streets. I realise that the authorities have actually wiped out all the Arab names. 'Saladdin' has metamorphosed into 'Shlomo.' But why did they retain the name of Mutanabbi Street, I wonder for a moment? Then in a flash I read the name in Hebrew. It is 'Mount Nebo,' not Mutanabbi as I have always assumed.

I want to travel to Jerusalem...

I lift the telephone and dial the number of the Israeli officer in charge of civilian affairs. Since I have known him for some time, I inquire about his health and joke with him. Then I appeal to him to grant me a one-day permit to Jerusalem.

"Come over and apply in person," he says. So I leave my work and I come over. I fill out an application and I wait – one day, two days, three days. There is hope, I rationalise; at least they have not said 'no' as usual. And I continue to wait. Then I appeal to my friend once again, because by now my appointment in Jerusalem is imminent. I beg him for a response:

"Please say no," I plead with him. "Then at least I can cancel or postpone my appointment." He does not respond. Exhausted and disappointed, I tell him desperately that I have only a few hours left to get there.

"Come back in an hour," he says impatiently. I come back an hour later to find the office closed. Naively I wonder why the officer is so diffident, why he hasn't simply refused as usual? Finally, consumed by anger, I decide – not too judiciously – to leave for Jerusalem even at the risk of evading the state's 'security measures.'

Upon my return, I receive an invitation to appear before a military court. I queue up with the rest and I listen to the charges brought against the people before me. There is the case of a woman who works in a kibbutz and who has a permit which clearly forbade her to stop on her way to work. For some pressing reason, she stopped and was immediately arrested. Similarly, some young men wandered away from the main street, only to be arrested. The court acquits no one. Prison sentences and exorbitant fines are automatic.

I am reminded of the story of the old man who, while patiently ploughing his field, discovered that his donkey had wandered off into someone else's land. Intent on retrieving his donkey, he left his plough and ran after him. He was soon stopped by the police and was arrested for having trespassed on government property without a permit. He told them that he had a permit in the pocket of his *caba*, which he had hung on a tree. He was arrested anyway.

I also remember the 'death permits' which obliged farmers to sign a form blaming themselves for their own death if they stepped on mines in an area that was used by the army. The signatures allowed the government to shirk all responsibility for their death. Intent on earning their livelihood and unconscious of the dangers, the farmers signed these statements anyway. Some of them lived, but many of them died. Tired, finally, of the dead and living alike, the government finally confiscated the farmers' land.

Then there was the child who died in her father's arms in front of the office of the military governor. The father had long been waiting for a permit to leave his village for the city to hospitalise his sick daughter...

When the judge sentences me for two months only, I feel elated and thankful. In prison, I sing for my

homeland and write letters to my beloved. I also read articles about democracy, freedom and death. Yet I do not set myself free; neither do I die.

I want to travel to Greece...

I ask for a passport and a *laissez-passer*. Suddenly, I realise that I am not a citizen, because either my father or one of my other relatives took me and fled during the 1948 war. At that time I was just a child. I now discover that any Arab who fled during the war and returned later forfeited his right to citizenship. I despair of ever obtaining a passport and I settle for a *laissez-passer*. Then I realise that I am not a resident of Israel since I do not have a residency card. I consult a lawyer:

"If I am neither a citizen nor a resident of the State, then where am I and who am I?" He tells me that I have to prove that I am present. I ask the Ministry of the Interior:

"Am I present or absent? Should you so wish, I can philosophically justify my presence." I realise that I am philosophically present and legally absent. I contemplate the law. How naive we are to believe that law in this country is the receptacle of justice and right. Here, law is a receptacle of the government's wishes – a suit tailored to please its whims.

Notwithstanding all this, I was present in this country long before the existence of the state that denies my presence. Bitterly, I observe that my basic rights are illusory unless backed by force. Force alone can change illusion into reality.

Then I smile at the law which gives every Jew in the world the right to become an Israeli citizen.

I try once again to get my papers in order, trusting in the law and in the Almighty. At long last, I secure a certificate proving that I am present. I also receive a *laissez-passer*.

Where do I go from here?

I live in Haifa, and the airport is close to Tel Aviv. I ask the police for permission to travel from Haifa to the airport. They refuse. I am distraught, yet I cleverly decide to follow a different route and to travel by ship. I take the Haifa port highway, convinced that I have the right to use it. I revel in my intelligence. I buy a ticket and without trouble pass through the passport checkpoint and the health and customs departments. However, near the ship they arrest me. I am again taken to court, but this time I am sure that the law is on my side.

In court, I am duly informed that the port of Haifa is a part of Israel – not a part of Haifa. They remind me that I have no right to be in any part of Israel except in Haifa, and that the port – according to the law – is outside Haifa's city limits. Before long, I am charged and convicted. I protest:

"I would like to make a grave confession, gentlemen, since I have become aware of the law. I swim in the sea, but the sea is a part of Israel and I do not have a permit. I enjoy the weather of Haifa, yet the weather is the property of Israel, not of Haifa. Likewise, the sky above Haifa is not part of Haifa, and I do not have a permit to sit under the sky."

When I ask for a permit to dwell in the wind, they smile...

I want to rent an apartment....

I read an advertisement in the paper, I dial a number.

"Madam, I read your advertisement in the paper: may I come and look at your apartment?" Her laughter fills my heart with hope:

"This is an excellent apartment on Mount Carmel, sir. Come over and reserve it quickly." In my happiness, I forget to pay for the telephone call and leave in a hurry.

The lady takes a liking to me, and we agree on her terms. Then, when I sign my name, she is taken aback.

"What, an Arab? I am sorry, sir, please call tomorrow."

This goes on for weeks. Every time I am rebuffed I think about the apartments' real owners who are lost in exile. How many houses have been built destined to remain uninhabited by their owners! Awaiting their return to their houses, the owners keep the keys in their pockets – and in their hearts. But if anyone of them should return, would he, I wonder, be allowed to use his key? Would he be able to rent but one room in his own house?

And yet they insist:

"The Zionists have not committed crimes; they simply brought a people without a country to a country without a people."

"But who built those houses?" I inquire.

"Which demons built them for which legends?"

On that note, they leave me alone, and they continue to breed children in stolen houses.

I want to visit my mother during the holidays...

My parents live in a small village an hour's drive from where I live. I have not seen them for several months. Because my parents regard holidays with emotion, I send a carefully-worded letter to the police department. I write:

"I should like to draw your attention to some purely humanitarian reasons, which, I hope, will not clash with

*continued on page 15*

# WINDOW ON THE ARAB PRESS

The meetings of the Palestinian military council, the Lebanese national reconciliation talks in Lausanne and King Hussein's attacks on the United States were the lead stories in the local press this week.

**Al Fajr** gave top coverage to the North Yemen meeting of the military council, saying that the council agreed to accelerate the armed struggle.

**Al Quds** gave front-page coverage and editorial space to statements by Jordan's King Hussein to *The New York Times* in which he strongly attacked the Reagan administration and said there was no chance he would negotiate with Israel.

## Rejected Opinions

In a statement at Lausanne, where the new round of Lebanese talks is being held, Nabih Berri, Amal leader, said that if Lebanon were partitioned he would declare war. This position reflects the nationalist response to the proposals by the separatists who aim at dividing Lebanon into ethnic entities.

These proposals, hiding behind different names, are a continuation of the separatists' policies which led Lebanon into the hell of civil war, attempting to enforce sectarianism and political feudalism.

The separatists want to strike a sectarian deal with the other parties in the conference to divert the conference. In other words, they want it to jump over the basic issues that affect Lebanon's Arab structure and the necessity of building a new political, economic, social and constitutional system that would be a real reflection of the ambitions of the Lebanese.

Any attempt to divide Lebanon means Lebanon will cease to exist. The nationalist forces, undoubtedly, can confront these plans and foil them.

AL SHA'AB
March 13

## Reasons for the PNC Postponement

Sources close to Yasir Arafat said the Palestine National Council will hold its 17th assembly in Algiers in the near future. This is not the first time Arafat has claimed the PNC is about to meet. The last time was at the end of February. But February went by without a conference and March will also end without one.

The causes for not convening the PNC are many, forcing those who are concerned for the representation of the PLO to postpone it until the atmosphere around the PLO is clear.

Many groups refuse to let Arafat's visit and what ensued to end without punishment. Fatah wants to suspend the membership of three organisations in the PLO, and the PLO wants a collective leadership to head the PLO, not one person speaking on behalf of the Palestinian people.

All these reasons and many others lead these organisations to postpone the PNC meeting. These also lead Algeria to refuse to host the conference until all outstanding differences are resolved. As for Arafat, who is walking in an opposite direction, he is planning to hold this meeting believing it is time now he move alone without the other groups that disrupt his surrender policy.

If Arafat is really concerned for the future of the PLO, he should call for a meeting of the Fatah General Assembly, which last met four years ago. What leads Arafat to pass over the important fifth general assembly for the less important PNC? Only one reason, which is an attempt to strengthen the position of the rightists who agree with the enemies of our cause.

AL MITHAQ
March 14

## The Soviet-Syrian Communique

The visit by Geider Aliyev, member of the political department of the Soviet Communist party, to Syria and what resulted has been welcomed in the Arab countries and outside.

It may have seemed that Israel and the US did not pay attention to this visit and its impact on events in the Middle East. But this was wrong. Israel is now attacking the Soviet Union's position in support of the just Arab cause. Ronald Reagan also attacked Syria recently, like never before, reflecting the bankruptcy of the American administration after its plan in Lebanon failed.

The Soviet-Syrian communique confirmed once again that every nation which fights for its rights will find support in the Soviet Union. It also affirms Syria's role in the Middle East.

The communique also reflects the determination of both countries to fight for a just and comprehensive solution to the Middle East conflict.

We therefore call on the politicians in the US and Israel to read this communique carefully to understand its contents which say that the Soviet Union will fully back the just cause of the Arab people. Therefore this should be kept in mind before going into any new adventures.

AL ITTIHAD
March 15

## Bad Luck

Very simply, the Israeli military government believes it is not the right of the Palestinian citizen, Abu Ali Shahin, to stay in his homeland. The government considers the stay of Shahin in Gaza as illegal, even though he was present there after the 1967 war and was included in the census.

Perhaps it was Shahin's bad luck that he was born a Palestinian that caused him trouble. If he were Polish or Russian the whole world would have moved. But since he is a Palestinian, for those who keep making a big fuss about human rights he is in the lowest ranks, and therefore not worth attention.

We add our voice to all those demanding that the decision to deport Shahin be rescinded. We demand that his right to live with his family and in his homeland be guaranteed.

AL SHA'AB
March 15

## Lost Credibility

The statements by King Hussein to the *New York Times* reflect the feeling of every Arab in this region who lost patience waiting for a change in the US policy which backs Israel.

Washington's insistence that the solution come from direct negotiations between the Arabs and Israel, without making an effort to soften the hardline Israeli position, is actually a support of Israel's position and a pressure on the Arabs to make concessions when there is nothing more left to concede because Israel has the land and refuses to exchange it for peace.

The Arabs used to reject peace, recognition and talks with Israel. Now it is Israel that rejects these three things. It is saying no to return to the 1967 borders, no Palestinian state and no negotiations with the PLO.

With this hardline Israeli position, which the US is not trying to change, the historic chance for peace and finding a solution for the Palestinian issue is about to be lost, if it is not already lost.

The Arabs have realised that the US chooses to stand behind and back Israel. They have realised that it is a waste of time to try to change this US position, which is not just, rational or in the interests of the US.

By persisting in its present policies, the US is losing objectivity and prudence which are the two main conditions for any mediation efforts it may make to solve the Palestinian issue. Therefore, America's credibility as a mediator or judge is lost. The US cannot get back its lost credibility unless it changes its policies in this region and re-evaluates them with more impartiality. But this probably will not happen in the near future.

AL QUDS
March 16

## Nationalism Over Selfishness

There is one fact that is always true and that is that true nationalism is when a person cares more for the public interest than his own.

We, the Palestinians, particularly those who live in the occupied territories, are in great need of acting according to this nationalism because of the conditions we live under, which directly affect our Palestinian cause.

We also are in dire need of courageously expressing our thoughtful and responsible views and holding on to these views rather than easily abandoning them whenever we are faced with some trouble because of these views, which we believe are true.

It is a regretable matter to find among us, in these difficult days, those who are flirting and others outbidding, in a tasteless manner and with disregard to the public interest. Their main objective is, however, to serve their own personal and selfish interests, forgetting that the main reason for our sufferings is that we did not abide by our principles.

If we take a look at the history of the Palestinian cause over the many years we would find thousands of negative and shameful cases which brought us to where we are now.

AL FAJR
March 16

# Lebanon War Turns Soldier Into Pacifist

Rami Giv'oni, a Tel Aviv resident and Israeli army reservist, deposited all of his military documents at the defence ministry to symbolise his resignation from the Israeli armed forces. Giv'oni became a pacifist after he participated in the Israeli invasion of Lebanon as a member of a parachute unit and took part in the occupation of Sidon. Giv'oni tried to meet Defence Minister Moshe Arens in order to give him his documents but when Arens refused he left the documents in the public relations office.

Rami Giv'oni sent three letters to the minister over the last six months, the last of which detailed his transformation in battle and how he became a pacifist through realisation of the just cause "the Palestinians were fighting for, few against many in a heroic war."

After realising that he would fight on the Palestinian side if he were brought up in a refugee camp and would thus become a 'terrorist,' Giv'oni drew the conclusion that "all violence is wrong and against human beings." On these grounds he demanded to be exempted from military service as a conscientious objector. Instead of a reply, high-ranking officers tried to convince him to return and be a "good soldier." When he repeatedly refused he was called to military service March 4 but did not go. On Sunday, March 18 he was ordered to face trial that afternoon in a military camp. Giv'oni decided to resign from the army the same day and so returned his documents. His trial was postponed but the documents remained at the defence ministry.

Israeli law allows exemption from military service on grounds of conscience only to women; although it is possible to receive an exemption for "physical and/or mental incompetence" or, according to another definition, "unfitness" or through the personal intervention of the defence minister. In the past, pacifists have been exempted as "unfit", "mentally incompetent" or released on psychiatric grounds.

Rami Giv'oni's case has received attention because of his former status as combat soldier-turned-pacifist, specifically as the result of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon.

Rami Giv'oni, right, poses with his military documents in front of the Defence Ministry.

# TNT Arrests Lead to Scandal in Police Force

'Terror Against Terror' (TNT), two cells of which were arrested two weeks ago, may cause as much damage to the Israeli police force as they did to their bombing targets. One senior Tel Aviv police officer, head of the Police's Central Unit Assaf Hefetz, has been suspended for allegedly leaking intelligence information about TNT to journalists. Senior police officers in Tel Aviv and Jerusalem have split into pro- and anti-Hefetz factions and both are revealing alleged misdemeanors of their opponents.

Hefetz was suspended March 13 by police inspector general Arye Ivtzan for allegedly telling a *Ma'ariv* reporter four days earlier that he received "orders from above" to call off investigations into Shimon Barda, a man police are now seeking as the mastermind behind the TNT cell which attempted to blow up *al-Aqsa* Mosque last January. Hefetz denies the allegations, saying he only confirmed to reporters details that had already been released.

The order was, according to *Ma'ariv*, that a file on Barda's gun- and explosives-buying activities, extortion and possible involvement in arsoning a church in 1982 be frozen. It was given by senior intelligence officers, according to the Israeli paper.

Hefetz won an order *nisi* March 18 ordering Ivtzan to show within 15 days why he should not be reinstated. Hefetz said in court that after senior officers suspected of more serious offences had not been suspended. He named Tel Aviv police chief Avraham Turgeman as one of those being investigated.

Officers have been particularly angered by revelations that Hefetz's phone was being tapped prior to his suspension. According to police leaders, several other senior officers' and journalists' phones are also being monitored.

MARCH 22

JERUSALEM: Lecture — "How to read the Bible in the Bible Land" at YMCA. 4:00 pm. (Arabic)

MARCH 22—25

TEL AVIV — Lecture Series on Judaism and Zionism at Tel Aviv University, Gilman Building. (Hebrew).
March 22: 'The Concept of Racism in Judaism.' 5:00 pm. Room 496.
'Zionism and the Question of Racism.' 7:30 pm. Room 223.
March 25: 'Social Systems of Discrimination.' 4:00 pm. Room 496.
'The Reality of Discrimination.' 6:00 pm.

MARCH 24

KEREM SHALOM — Demonstration in Kerem Shalom in support of Abu Ali Shahin, organised by the Palestinian-Israeli committee in solidarity with the ex-prisoner. Buses leave from Binyane Ha'uma, Jerusalem, at 10:00 (donation suggested).

MARCH 24

JERUSALEM: Freiburg choir presents concert at Dormition Abbey, 8:30 pm. Tel: 719927.

MARCH 25

TEL AVIV — RAMAT AVIV: SHASI (Israeli Socialist Left)'s Left Forum discusses: "Arms Industry in Israel: its social, economic and political aspects." c/o A. Davidi, 90 (4) HaUniversita Street.

Good, used clothes needed and sold (cheap) at the Spafford Children's Centre, Old City, Jerusalem between Damascus and Herod's Gate — Wednesday and Saturday mornings. Tel: 284875, ask for Mimi.

**Calender of Events**

**WHAT'S MISSING? WHAT'S HAPPENING!**

**Visitors and locals buy *Al Fajr* Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly for news of the occupied territories. Many important and enjoyable events pass by unnoticed simply because there are no avenues of advertisement available to announce them. *Al Fajr* will change this by offering FREE advertisement space to groups, institutions and individuals who want to let people know what's happening.**

**Ads must be no more than 25 words in length and be at *Al Fajr* English offices no later than Friday each week to be published the following Wednesday. They may be submitted in person at our 2 Hatem Ta'ee Street office or by phoning 281035. Call or stop by today and let us know what you are planning.**

*continued from page 5*

# Iraqi Denial

statement read that the US reached this conclusion through available evidence. "The US strongly condemns the prohibited use of chemical weapons wherever it occurs," the statement said, adding, "there can be no justification for their use by any country."

The US has lately been tilting clearly towards Iraq in its conflict with Iran. The tilt, it is believed, is manifested in diplomatic support and statements from American officials. The American tilt is also meant to send a signal to Syria, as an official told this reporter a few weeks ago. "If Syria understands our support to Iraq and Jordan as a message against them, they won't be totally wrong," he said. The use of chemical weapons, however, is much more than the US can openly condone.

Careful at not sending the wrong message to either party to the gulf war, the US called "on the government of Iran to accept the good offices offered by a number of countries" and others to end the bloodshed. The statement also called Iran's leaders intransigent in aiming at eliminating a legitimate government of a neighbouring state. It called that unacceptable behaviour. The US called on both countries to end their tragic war and abide by international treaties and agreements regarding treatment of prisoners and chemical warfare

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# Higher Islamic Council Reappointed

Jordanian Prime Minister Ahmad Obeidat recently renewed the mandate of the Supreme Islamic Council which is authorised to run *waqf* (Islamic charitable foundation) affairs in the occupied territories, according to *Al Quds* daily March 8.

Hassan Tahboub, local *waqf* director and member of the council, told *Al Fajr*: "The ministry of *waqf* in Amman appoints a new council every two years. This year all nine members were reappointed." Tahboub denied allegations that Jordan appoints only pro-Jordanians in institutions it sponsors. Ikrima Sabri, director of the *waqf* preaching department, refused to comment on the same allegation, saying, "The situation is very sensitive."

Two *waqf* employees, Hatem Abd al-Qader, public information director, and Daoud Obeidat, a journalist for *Huda Islam* magazine, were suspended from work last week by the ministry of *waqf* in Amman. They were both handed written orders from the ministry.

*Waqf* sources in Jerusalem said the two employees have not been finally dismissed and applications to reappoint them have been sent to Amman. Ikrima Sabri, editor of *Huda Islam*, told *Al Fajr* that Abd al-Qader and Obeidat were hired on a daily basis and were suspended when the magazine doubled its distribution to 10,000: "We, in the *waqf*, bypassed the Jordanian law which prohibits hiring people at the cost of projects."

Abd al-Qader, who also works as an editor at *Al Fajr* newspaper, told colleagues that these reasons are "unpersuasive." He pointed out that *Al Quds* reported two weeks ago that firings "are expected" in the *waqf*. Abd al-Qader says that when *waqf* officials investigated, they were told by Mahmoud Abu Zuluf, editor of *Al Quds*, that the *waqf* is "hiring communists."

جامعة بيرزيت
BIRZEIT UNIVERSITY

**Bir Zeit University Summer Courses 1984:**

1. *Arabic for non-natives* A. (Beginners)
2. *Arabic for non-natives* B. (1 smstr. Arabic)
3. *Colloquial Arabic.* (Beginners)
4. *Archaeology of Palestine.* (Introduction)
5. *Problems of Development under Occupation.*

(Social Science-based course.)

The courses are six weeks long: July 1—August 31. Tuition: $100 per course, payable on registration ($20 deposit required with application). Accomodation available at $115 for 6 weeks. Contact, by April 30: Summer Programme, Office of the Registrar, Bir Zeit University, PO Box 14, Bir Zeit, West Bank, via Israel.

# WEEKLY REVIEW

**March 12, 1984**

### JABALIYA MAN SENTENCED TO LIFE

GAZA — A Jabaliya camp resident, Mohammed Zaki Zeid, 28, was given a life sentence after he was convicted by a military court in Gaza of killing a collaborator and membership in a Palestinian organisation.

### UNRWA SCHOOLS REOPENED

JERUSALEM — Two UNRWA institutions, Kalandia and Tireh, were reopened after the students signed papers saying they "will not disrupt studies there without official permission," according to *Al Fajr* Arabic daily. The papers excuse students from sitting for the controversial comprehensive exams, according to the same sources. The two-year colleges were closed after the students struck in protest against attempts to enforce the Jordanian comprehensive exams.

### LATE BIR ZEIT TEACHER EULOGISED

BIR ZEIT — The late Bir Zeit University instructor Ghassan Harb was eulogised at the university. Several people spoke on his accomplishments, especially in the education field. Harb was a member of the commerce department.

### REFUSENIK

TEL AVIV — An Israeli sergeant was given a two-week sentence for refusing to serve in Lebanon. The sergeant said the Israeli occupation of Lebanon and the West Bank is dangerous.

### COMMUNITY COLLEGE STUDENTS STRIKE

RAMALLAH — Students of Ramallah's Modern Community College struck in protest against the high tuition and demanded that books and other necessary educational equipment be made available. The students threatened to continue with the strike until their demands are met.

### NEW STUDY ON HIGH COURT

JERUSALEM — A new study called *The High Court Under Military Orders*, by lawyer Ibrahim Sha'aban, was published by the Lawyers Association in the West Bank.

### POLICE HARASS STUDENTS

BEER SHEBA — Beer Sheba police summoned an Arab student at Beer Sheba University and questioned him on his activities in the Arab Student Front. Mohammed Yahyah's room was searched by the police who confiscated banners and leaflets prepared for a demonstration against Ariel Sharon's visit to campus.

**March 13, 1984**

### STUDENT SENTENCED

JERUSALEM — A 20-year-old student at a Jordanian college, Hanan Talib Akkas, from Qalqilya, was given a three-year prison sentence, 25 months suspended, for membership in a Palestinian organisation.

### UNRWA PRESSURES STUDENTS

GAZA — UNRWA officials are pressuring students at the Technical School in Gaza not to hold any group activities. Two students were suspended for one month, in addition to an earlier decision to suspend a third student for one month also. Two other students were dismissed from school under the pretext of carrying out political activities on campus.

The students struck in protest against these measures, demanding that their colleagues be readmitted to school.

### GAZA TEENAGERS SENTENCED

GAZA — Two 17-year-old Gaza youths received prison terms on charges of demonstrating and writing slogans on the walls. Bassam Mohammed Mashahrawi received six months and Imad Jawad Marzouq seven months.

### TULKARM SHOOT-OUT

JERUSALEM — Plain-clothes police shot their way into the home of Ahmad Abd al-Rahim, from Nazlet Issa, near Tulkarm, after he refused to allow them into his home without a search warrant. Abd al-Rahim was then forced out of the house but refused to cooperate with the unidentified police until Tulkarm police arrived and arrested him. No reason was given for his arrest.

### TOWN ARREST ORDER RENEWED

JERICHO — The town arrest of lawyer Jamil Othman Nasser, deputy director of the Lawyers Union, was renewed for six months. This is the third renewal.

### PILGRIMAGE COMMITTEE AIRS VIEWS

JERUSALEM — The Holy Land Pilgrimage Committee said that the Israeli government no longer honours the freedom of pilgrimage to the Holy Land.

The committee, comprised of all the Christian churches here, was established in 1981. It accused Israel of exploiting religious holidays to boost tourism. The committee denounced government attempts to restrict the movement of Christian pilgrims in visiting places of worship. It also opposed attempts to appoint Israeli guides for the pilgrims, saying they will be used to promote Israeli political propaganda.

**March 14, 1984**

### SIT-IN AGAINST TAWJIHI

BEIT SAHOUR — *Tawjihi* students from the Bethlehem district held a sit-in at the education department. They were protesting the *tawjihi* results which were announced Tuesday. Grades were low in English, Physics and History.

The students, who were not met by any education official, were asking that the education department help them in the second term. The protesters were dispersed by an Israeli army force.

Meanwhile, an 18-year-old youth from the village of Iraq Bourin, near Nablus, committed suicide by taking poison after he failed the first semester.

### UNIVERSITY TO CHARGE ARAB STUDENTS

HAIFA — Haifa University announced it will take legal action against Arab students charged with 'disturbing the peace' during a speech by former Israeli Defence Minister Ariel Sharon on campus two months ago. The leftist 'Campus' organisation says it will fight the university reprimand procedures.

### SUSPECTS IN BUS EXPLOSION RELEASED

TEL AVIV — Eight residents of Gaza arrested following the bus explosion in Ashdod last week were released. Investigators said they have not yet concluded how the explosion took place.

### ANTI-LAND DAY MOVES

TEL AVIV — *HaAretz* said police in the Galilee warned the local Arab councils that they will quell any protest on Land Day, March 30. The Galilee police chief visited the Arab councils to inform them of this decision.

### ANTI-ARAB ATTACK

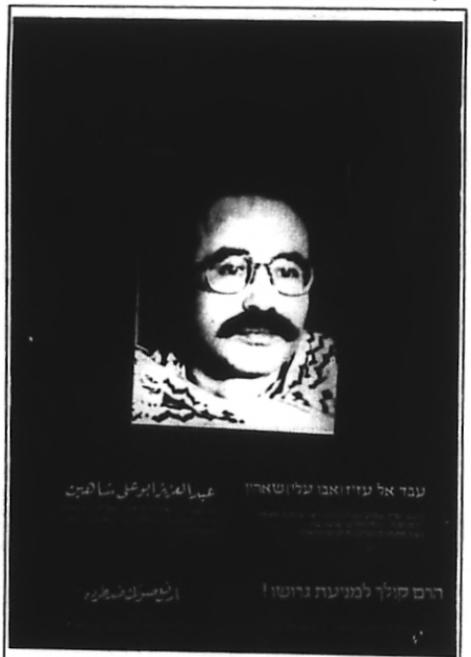
RAMALLAH — Israeli fanatics assaulted a Ramallah resident, Abd al-Karim Bajes Liftawi, as he was returning from work for an insurance company in West Jerusalem. He was seriously wounded.

### PRISON TERM

TULKARM — Tulkarm resident Rasim Abd al-Jawad was given a 15-year prison term on charges of possession of arms. Abd al-Jawad was arrested a year ago after the guns were found in his car.

### PRISONER'S FAMILY APPEAL FOR HELP

JERUSALEM — The family of political prisoner Harb Hassan Abu Dahil, from Jabaliya refugee camp appealed for his release. The family said Harb is suffering from several serious health problems that are endangering his life. It said Harb has been fed for an extended time through tubes which have damaged his lungs. Abu Dahil has been in prison since 1968, serving a 20-year term.



"It is my right to live here," exclaims a poster distributed by the Committee to Defend the Rights of Abu Ali Shahin. Israeli military authorities delivered the former prisoner a deportation order March 12. Shahin was released in 1982 after serving a 15-year sentence and was then banished to a remote Gaza Strip village.

### KALANDIA CAMP SURVEYED

KALANDIA — Israeli officers visited Kalandia camp carrying large maps. Marks were put on the camp's streets.

### LIVING TO BE REPLACED BY DEAD

A planning committee in the Jerusalem municipality decided to turn a residential area at the bottom of the Mount of Olives into a Jewish cemetery. *HaAretz* claimed Arab homes in that area were illegal.

**March 15, 1984**

### BOMB IN GAZA

GAZA — A bomb was thrown at the city's courthouse. Police immediately closed the area and confiscated identity cards of people in the area. More than 15 shops near the courthouse were ordered shut by the military.

### HUNGER STRIKE IN JORDAN

Palestinian detainees at al-Mahatta prison in Jordan went on a hunger strike last Sunday to protest their long detention without trial, arrivals from Jordan told *Al Fajr*.

### BODY NEAR HADASSAH HOSPTIAL IDENTIFIED

BETHLEHEM — The body of an Arab found in a car near Hadassah Hospital in Ain Karem Wednesday was identified as Issa Mohammed Massalmeh, 45, from Bethlehem. Massalmeh was going to Tel Aviv to buy furniture. He was found dead and the JD6000 he had with him was stolen.

### KIDNAPPED LEBANESE TO TRIAL

HAIFA — It was evident from the list of accusations against Lebanese citizen Ahmad Khreidi that he was kidnapped by Israeli soldiers in the Beqa'a valley in Lebanon last September and that he will be tried at a military court in Lydda on March 28 on charges of membership in the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine. Nazareth lawyer Walid Fahoum will defend him.

### PLANS FOR 10 SETTLEMENTS

TEL AVIV — *Ma'ariv* said two separate plans for the development of Jerusalem include building 10 new settlements around Jerusalem. One plan was put forth by the housing department and the other by the settlement department in the Jewish Agency.

## THREE BETHLEHEM YOUTHS SENTENCED

RAMALLAH — A military court in Ramallah sentenced three Bethlehem youths, Jamal Soufan, Abd al-Karim Assaf and Nasser Ala' al-Din, to prison for a two-year term after they were convicted of membership in a Muslim organisation.

## STUDENTS CONTINUE TAWJIHI PROTEST

RAMALLAH — Students from 10 secondary schools in Ramallah met at al-Urdunieh school to discuss the results of the *tawjihi* exams. The students urged the education department in the West Bank to consider their suggestions on the exams. The students were complaining of the difficulty of the questions and the shortness of time to answer them.

## NABLUS YOUTHS SENTENCED

NABLUS — An 18-year-old youth from Nablus, Hazem Subhi Touqan, was given a seven-year prison sentence on charges of throwing a firebomb and membership in a Palestinian organisation.

## COMMITTEE REJECTED

WEST BANK — The Anabta Women's Charitable Organisation received a notice from the Department of Social Affairs informing it that the membership of six women in the administrative committee is not acceptable.

## SHOTS FIRED AT CAR

HEBRON — Shots were fired from an unknown vehicle at a car driven by a resident of Bani Na'im, near Hebron, as it was travelling near Kiryat Shemona, in the Galilee. The driver and another passenger were slightly injured in the shooting.

**March 16, 1984**

## TWO ISRAELIS DESCRIBE TERROR ATTACK

JERUSALEM — Two Israeli members of the extreme right-wing *Kach* movement and members of a recently detained 'Terror Against Terror' cell described to the police how they set fire to *Al Fajr* offices in August last year.

*Kach* leader Rabbi Meir Kahane was summoned to police headquarters in Jerusalem and questioned about the activities of five of his organisation's members suspected of attacking a bus carrying Arab workers in Ramallah recently.

## MOSQUE ATTACK SUSPECT RELEASED

One of the Israelis suspected of the attempted attack on *al-Aqsa* Mosque in Jerusalem in January was ordered released by a Jerusalem magistrates court. Israel Radio said the released man did not participate in the attack but had previous knowledge of it.

## UNIVERSITY EMPLOYEES TO RECEIVE PAY

GAZA — Employees at the Islamic University of Gaza will receive their salaries for February after the Israeli authorities agreed to release some of the university's funds they have impounded.

## JOURNALIST ARRESTED IN GAZA

JERUSALEM — *Al Mithaq's* Gaza correspondent, Suleiman Jadallah, was arrested and Wednesday's issue of the newspaper confiscated by the Israeli military. No reason was given for this action. *Al Mithaq* has had official permission to distribute its publication in Gaza since October 1, 1982. Jadallah was later released.

## TOWN ARREST RENEWED

HEBRON — The town arrest of unionist Yunis Tim from Dhahriya, near Hebron, was renewed for the third time for six months.

## STUDENT IMPRISONED

JENIN — Jenin student Abd al-Nasser Shalabi was jailed for two months with eight months suspended on charges of demonstrating.

**Members of the Union of Palestinian Women's Committees prepare for the union's fourth annual bazaar in Silwan March 16.**

## WOMEN'S COMMITTEE OPENS BAZAAR

JERUSALEM — The Union of Palestinian Women's Committees opened its fourth annual bazaar at Silwan Club. The bazaar includes an exhibition of Palestinian heritage and culture. It is part of celebrations for International Women's Day.

**March 17, 1984**

## FIREBOMB IN KALANDIA

A Molotov was thrown at the house of a Kalandia camp *mukhtar*, setting it on fire, Israel Radio said.

## TWO BOMBS IN RAMALLAH

RAMALLAH — Two bombs were discovered and safely detonated in two Ramallah schools. The first bomb was found in the Ramallah Preparatory School and the second in Am'ari School. Students suspended studies for one day in protest.

## QALQILIYA RESIDENT ATTACKED

QALQILIYA — Mahmoud Abdallah Hamid, a 55-year-old Qalqiliya man, was attacked as he was walking towards a mosque in a nearby village. He was left with minor injuries. Attempts were made recently to defraud him of his 100 dunums of land.

**March 18, 1984**

## SETTLERS START BUILDING NEAR HEBRON

HEBRON — A group of settlers set up pre-fabricated houses on Arab-owned land in al-Massanat area, south of Hebron, in an attempt to start a new settlement. Owners of the land have a court order preventing the settlers from working on their land.

## UNIVERSITY STUDENT SENTENCED

JERUSALEM — A military court in Ramallah sentenced university student Zaidan Ahmad Ammar, from Jericho, to an 18-month prison term, half of which is suspended, on charges of attending political lectures at Yarmouk refugee camp in Syria and membership in a Palestinian organisation.

## LAWYER WANTS REASONS

NAZARETH — Lawyer Walid Fahoum asked the military legal advisor to the West Bank to explain why he refuses to allow his client Rasha Fayez Freitech to leave for Amman.

Freitech, 31, resident of Nablus, has been prevented from travelling several times recently. Fahoum said his client has no record.

**Transporation and communication costs rose 10-40 percent March 18. Transportation costs went up by 40 percent for bus fares and 20 percent for taxis. International telephone calls went up 10 percent.**

*continued from page 11*

# Memoirs

your strong regard for the security of the state and the safety and interests of the public. By kindly granting my request for a permit to visit my parents during the holidays, you would prove that the security of the state is not contradictory to your appreciation of people's feelings."

My friends leave the city and I am left behind by myself. All the families will meet tomorrow, and I have no right to be with mine. I remain alone.

In the early morning, I leave for the beach to extinguish my grief in the blue waters. The waves bear me; I resign myself to their might. Then I stretch out on the warm sand, basking in the sun and soothing breeze with my loneliness.

"Why does the sun squander its warmth so?" I wonder. "Why do the waves break against the shore? So much sun... so much sand... so much water." I contemplate the obvious truth.

I hear people speaking Hebrew. I understand what they say, and my grief and loneliness increase. I feel the urge to describe the sea to my girlfriend, but I am alone. With or without justification, those around me curse my people, while they enjoy my sea and bask in my sun. Even when they are swimming, when they are joking, when they are kissing, they curse my people. Could not the sea, I wonder, bless them with one moment of tranquility and love, so they would forget my people for a while? How can they by capable of so much hatred while they lie stretched out on the warm sand?

Saturated with salt and sun, I go to a cafe on the beach. I order a beer and whistle a sad tune. People look at me. I busy myself with a tasteless cigarette, and then I buy an ear of corn and eat alone. My wish is to spend the entire day on the beach in order to forget that it is a holiday and that my parents are waiting for me. Soon, however, I realise that it is time for my daily visit to the police in order to prove that I have not left town. The searing blueness of the sea and the sky blaze in my eyes as I leave the beach.

At the entrance of the police station, my little brother meets me and says:

"Hurry up and prove to the police that you are present; Mother is waiting for you at your apartment." I prove that I am present and reach home panting.

My mother has refused to celebrate the feast without me, and so she comes to my apartment bringing everything — the bread, the pots of food, the coffee, olive oil, salt and pepper.

In the evening she leaves, I kiss her and close the door behind her. I cannot take her across the street because the state does not allow me to leave the house after sunset — not even to bid my mother goodbye.

In my room, I become aware of my loneliness once more. I sit on an old chair and listen to Tchaikovsky's First Concerto. Suddenly I cry as I have never cried before. For years, I have carried these tears and they have finally found an outlet.

"Mother, I am still a child. I want to empty all my grief onto your bosom. I want to bridge the distance between us in order to cry in your lap."

My next door neighbour calls to tell me that my mother is still cleaving to the door. I run out to her and cry on her shoulders.

In the March 7 issue of *Al Fajr*, **Nura Sus** looked at the year's achievements of two of the four Palestinian women's committees active in the West Bank and Gaza — the Women's Work Committee, begun in 1978, and the Working Women's Committee, established in 1980. This week we survey the activities of the two newer organisations: The Women's Committee for Social Action and the Palestinian Women's Committee in the Occupied Land, newly established but already substantially different from their predecessors.

# Woman Power in Palestine

## Women's Committee for Social Action

Almost two years after its establishment, the WCSA has 15 centres in the cities of Nablus, Tulkarm, Jenin, Gaza, Rafah and Ramallah, in the villages of Kobar, Beit Ummar (20 members), and in the refugee camps of Jalazon, Kalandia (120), Shufat (40), Aida and Dheisheh (40).

Social and entertainment activities dominated their 1983-84 agenda although pre-schools, literacy classes and handicraft courses were also begun by a few local committees during the year. It is the only one of the four women's organisations which makes an outright appeal on religious grounds as well. For example, religious classes were included in the Kalandia summer camp, clothes and sweets were distributed in Tulkarm on Muslim feast days and pre-schoolers from Dheisheh were taken to *al-Aqsa* Mosque on their first field trip. Organisation of working women or union activities were not mentioned in the past year's programme other than a solidarity visit to women in Tulkarm sewing factories to distribute flowers on Women's Day.

There were many day trips to various regions in Palestine under a programme called 'Know Your Country' and two summer camps for children. Social visits and celebrations — for Prisoners' Day, Women's Day, Children's Day and religious feast days — are an important function for the committees; regular visits are paid to families of political prisoners and especially the needy in the camps. Victims of last year's still unexplained mass poisoning phenomenon and gunshot victims were visited in hospital. Parties were given for graduating *tawjihi* students. Relief work is carried out by volunteer workers who clean and solicit donations of clothes, money and medicine to distribute to the poor — a method of aid not popular with the other women's committees which are more project-oriented.

Characteristic of the WCSA's all-around approach in encouraging membership is the Ramallah committee's inauguration of a physical fitness course and plans to establish an exercise centre for women, the first ever in the occupied territories.

Four pre-schools were set up in three refugee camps (Dheisheh, Shufat, Jalazon) and in Dhahriya, enrolling more than 300 children. Only the Jalazon camp committee, one of the most active, ran a literacy class last year but four committees have made it a priority for this year's work. Again in contrast to the emphasis of the other women's organisations on teaching marketable skills, the WCSA runs only one embroidery class (Jalazon), one knitting class (Shufat — 170 members) and one sewing class (Beit Ummar — 15). The major hindrance for the committees was the lack of centres, or even a room, to hold meetings and classes. Plans to rent space are on the agenda.

**Children from Dheisheh camp on a field trip to the Jerusalem Zoo, sponsored by the WCSA; 17 students are enrolled in a machine knitting class in Shufat camp.**

## Palestinian Women's Committee

The Palestinian Women's Committee's activities for the year indicate that a smaller but cohesive group of women activists directs the work, described in their literature as in the "social realm, production, culture/education, unionisation, class, health and folklore and art."

The committees have chapters in four Gaza refugee camps (Jabaliya, Shate', Rafah and Khan Yunis) and run two pre-schools there, two in Hebron city, in Idna, Sa'ir, Dheisheh camp, Nahalin, Beit Sahour, Battir, Jerusalem, Ramallah, Bir Zeit, Ni'lin, Jalazon camp, Beit Rima and Taluza, in the Nablus area. Core groups are also beginning in Aboud, Beit Illu, Deir Ammar, Beit Awwa and Deir al-Assad.

The committees, according to their pubic relations spokesperson, have recruited many members from the nursing community — 35 nurses are active members — and many of the activities are health-related. Three first aid courses were given (the latest, in Wadi Joz, is a three-month course with 10 women enrolled) which staff nurses from Augusta Victoria and Makassed Hospitals teach twice weekly. In Nahalin, for example, a lecture on prenatal care was given to the community, health education films shown, a free medical treatment day sponsored and a medical clinic set up, offering a range of services.

The committees meet regularly and differences between the women's organisations active in the occupied territories are more evident in these internal discussions. The PWC stresses the importance of group discussion of books and current events and devotes at least a 30-minute discussion for this during meetings.

The committee held a Women's Day celebration this year at their Jerusalem headquarters and a three-day bazaar at the Nadi Silwan March 16-18 to which all committees contributed food and hand-made articles for sale. Books, posters and cassettes were also available, as well as publications by the committee, including a new magazine.

**A singing group from Beitunnia enliven a PWC celebration in Jerusalem last December.**

### PWC Projects

**Kindergartens**
Jabaliya
Khan Yunis
Hebron (2 schools)

**Literacy Classes**
Hebron (16 women)
Taluza

**First Aid Courses**
Hebron (24 women)
Jerusalem
Jalazon

**Vocational Training (* workshops)**

| Sewing | Knitting |
|---|---|
| Jabaliya | Khan Yunis |
| Khan Yunis | Idna |
| Hebron (20 women) | Sa'ir |
| Nahalin * | Nahalin |
| Taluza * | Bir Zeit |
| Bir Zeit | Jalazon |
| Ni'lin | Beit Rima |
| Beit Rima * | |

| Embroidery | Pottery/Straw |
|---|---|
| Jabaliya | Jabaliya |
| Ni'lin | Sa'ir |